

# Selected Writings of J. B. Bury

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John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927), a great classical scholar and author of many enduring works, wrote these studies during the years 1888 and 1923. Compiled and bookmarked in 438 pdf pages by Robert Bedrosian, September, 2016.

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[The Provincial List of Verona](#), from *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 13 (1923), pp. 127-151, in 26 pdf pages.

[The Notitia Dignitatum](#), from *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 10 (1920), pp. 131-154, in 25 pdf pages.

[The Nika Riot](#), from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 17 (1897), pp. 92-119, in 29 pdf pages. Analysis of a week of deadly riots in Constantinople in 532.

[The Chronology of Theophylaktos Simokatta](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (Apr., 1888), pp. 310-315, in 7 pdf pages.

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[Origins of the Turks](#), in 27 pdf pages. Two fine essays on the early history of the Turks from volumes of the *English Historical Review*: E. H. Parker's "The Origin of the Turks" (*EHR*, vol. 11, 1896) pp. 431-445 and J. B. Bury's "The Turks in the Sixth Century" (*EHR*, vol. 12, 1897) pp. 417-426. Parker meticulously describes and translates portions of Chinese historical sources, while Bury discusses Greek accounts by Menander and Theophylact Simocatta.

[The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North](#), in 47 pdf pages. This study, which appeared as Chapter 13 of J. B. Bury's excellent *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), examines Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Persian, and Syriac sources on the history of the Turkic Khazar Empire (7-10th centuries). The Khazars, whose leadership converted to Judaism in the 9th century, posed a grave danger at times to Byzantium as well as to the Muslim world. "The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North" (pages 402-426) treats: 1. The Khazars; 2. The Subjects and Neighbors of the Khazars; 3. The Russians and Their Commerce; 4. Imperial Policy. The Russian Danger; 5. The Magyars. Includes Appendix 12, The Magyars (pp. 489-492), and full Bibliography (pp. 493-510).

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[The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire](#), (Cambridge, 1910), in 55 pdf pages.

[Mutasim's March Through Cappadocia in A. D. 838](#), from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 29 (1909), pp. 120-129, in 11 pdf pages.

[De Administrando Imperio \[On the Governance of the Empire\]](#), in 62 pdf pages. This study appeared in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig, 1906) pp. 517-577. It is a description and analysis of the 10th century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' manual known as *De Administrando Imperio*. This document was written by the emperor in 948-952 for his son and heir Romanus II, as a guide to foreign and domestic policies. It describes among many other things, the histories and characters of the nations neighboring the Empire or incorporated into it, including the Kievan Rus', Arabs, Lombards, Armenians, Georgians, Venetians, Magyars, Pechenegs, and Turks.

[The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos](#), in 42 pdf pages. This study appeared in the *English Historical Review* 22 (1907) pp. 209-227 and 426-448. It is a description and analysis of the 10th century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *Book of Ceremonies*. Contents include: 1. General Analysis of the Treatise; 2. The Ecclesiastical Ceremonies of Book I; 3. The Secular Ceremonies of Book I; 4. Conclusions as to the Sources of Book I.

[Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos](#), [ca. 960-1059] from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 4 (1899), in 62 pdf pages.

[The Science of History](#), an inaugural lecture delivered in the Divinity School of Cambridge (January 26, 1903), in 53 pdf pages.

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The following are links to Bury's wonderful books at Internet Archive (archive.org):

[A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great](#) (London, 1900). This is a scholarly work which is also easily accessible to the general public. Chapters: 1. The Beginnings of Greece and the Heroic Age; 2. The Expansion of Greece; 3. Growth of Sparta; 4. The Union of Attica and the Foundation of the Athenian Democracy; 5. Growth of Athens; 6. The Advance of Persia to the Aegean; 7. The Perils of Greece. The Persian and Punic Invasions; 8. The Foundation of the Athenian Empire; 9. The Athenian Empire under the Guidance of Pericles; 10. The War of Athens with the Peloponnesians (431-421 B.C.); 11. The Decline and Downfall of the Athenian Empire; 12. The Spartan Supremacy and the Persian War; 13. The Revival of Athens and Her Second League; 14. The Hegemony of Thebes; 15. The Syracusan Empire and the Struggle with Carthage; 16. Rise of Macedonia; 17. The Conquest of Persia; 18. The Conquest of the Far East; Chronological Table; Notes and References, with maps and plans (London, 1900).

[The Ancient Greek Historians](#) (New York, 1909).

[The Hellenistic Age](#), (323-276 B.C.) by J. B. Bury and others (Cambridge, 1923). Includes Bury's "The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilization"; "Alexandrian

Literature" by E. A. Barber; "Hellenistic Popular Philosophy" by Edwyn Bevan; "The Social Question in the Third Century" by W. W. Tarn.

[A History of the Roman Empire](#) from its foundation to the death of Marcus Aurelius (27 B. C. - 180 A.D.), (New York, 1893).

*A History of the Later Roman Empire* from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.) [volume 1](#), (London, 1889). [volume 2](#), (London, 1889).

[A History of the Eastern Roman Empire](#) from the fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867), (London, 1912).

[The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century](#), with a revised text of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (London, 1911).

[The Life of St. Patrick](#), and His Place in History (London, 1905).

[A History of Freedom of Thought](#) (New York, 1913).

[The Idea of Progress](#), an inquiry into its origin and growth (London, 1921).



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The Provincial List of Verona

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## THE PROVINCIAL LIST OF VERONA.

By J. B. BURY.

§ 1. The exact measure of the originality of Diocletian's statesmanship has not yet been taken. 'Like Augustus,' said Gibbon, 'Diocletian may be considered the founder of a new empire' and these words express the accepted view. In the whole work of pulling the Empire together, which went on from A.D. 270 to 330, the three outstanding actors were Aurelian, Diocletian, and Constantine, and the part played by Aurelian was indispensable for the *restitutio orbis*. It was he who destroyed the Principate, notwithstanding the negligible episode of Tacitus. It was he who founded the autocracy; Diocletian who regularized and systematized it. Two new things Diocletian certainly did, one of which was a success and the other a failure though not a fruitless one. His division of the Empire into Dioceses was permanent for nearly three hundred years. His throne system led to disaster and disappeared; yet the territorial quadripartition which it involved was afterwards stereotyped in the four Prefectures, and Nicomedia pointed to Constantinople. But in many of the other changes which distinguished the Empire of Constantine from the Empire of Severus and which have generally been regarded as inventions of Diocletian, it is becoming clear that he was not the initiator but was only extending and systematizing changes which had already been begun. The separation of civil from military powers in provincial government had been initiated by Gallienus (the importance of whose reign has in recent years been emerging). Some of the characteristics which mark the military organization of the fourth century had come before Diocletian's accession. Mr. Mattingly's studies in the numismatic history of the third century have been leading him, as he tells us,<sup>1</sup> to similar conclusions.

What I have said is illustrated by the provincial reforms which exhibit two distinct policies. By the creation of Twelve Dioceses Diocletian combined groups of provinces into large circumscriptions; while at the same time he broke up many large provinces into smaller ones. The two policies should be kept apart in judging his innovations. The creation of the Dioceses was a new and original act, due to this Emperor himself. But in reducing the size of provinces he was only carrying further a policy which had been begun in the reign of Claudius I and pursued at intervals ever since and was to be

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.* xi, p. 261.

carried further by his own successors. The Dioceses formed a system and must have been introduced by a single act. The date of their institution is, as we should expect, not recorded: the meagreness of our records of Diocletian's reign is notorious. The only literary notice of his administrative reforms in general is the well-known vague and censorious passage in Lactantius<sup>1</sup>;

Et ut omni terrore complerentur prouinciae quoque in frustra concisae, multi praesides et plura officia singulis regionibus ac pene iam ciuitatibus incubare, item rationales et uicarii praefectorum.

The indications are that the Diocesan organization belongs to one of the early years of his joint reign with Maximian. This was Mr. Seeck's view, and it appears to me to be probably right.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the splitting up of provinces was not done systematically or all at once; the policy was applied at different times during the reign, as occasion dictated, as the circumstances of particular territories pressed themselves on the attention of the Emperors. For this the evidence is quite clear, as will appear in the course of this paper. The changes which Diocletian made in the administrative geography of the Empire will be misapprehended if we suppose that they were all parts of a systematic plan carried out simultaneously by delimiting commissions. Yet they have generally been treated by historians as if they belonged to one thorough-going reform that had been thought out as a whole.

§ 2. It is commonly supposed that we possess a list of the dioceses and provinces dating from Diocletian's reign. This is the document which is called the List of Verona, or the *Laterculus Veronensis*, or the provincial List of A.D. 297. Although it was published by Maffei in the eighteenth century,<sup>3</sup> it was unnoticed by historians till 1862 when it was edited by Mommsen with a commentary.<sup>4</sup> Since then it has been reprinted by Mr. Riese<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Seeck.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript, preserved at Verona, is written in uncials of about the seventh century, according to Mommsen. That scholar argued, and proved to his own satisfaction, that this list is not only earlier than all the other provincial lists we possess, but can be dated, with great probability, to A.D. 297; and this view has been generally accepted, though there have been one or two dissentients.<sup>7</sup>

The twelve Dioceses are arranged in a geographical order, beginning with the Oriens, which included Egypt, and ending with

<sup>1</sup> *De mort. pers.* c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. des Untergangs der ant. Welt* i, 8; cp. 412.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Opusculi ecclesiastici* (Trent), 1742; reprinted in his *Opere*, vol. xi (Venice), 1790.

<sup>4</sup> 'Verzeichniss der römischen Provinzen, aufgesetzt um 297,' in *Abb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1862, pp. 489 *sqq.* Reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. v.

<sup>5</sup> In *Geograph. Minores*, 1878.

<sup>6</sup> In his ed. of *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876), pp 247, *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Particularly Mr. Kuhn, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philologie und Pädagogik*, Bd. 115, 1877. See also the article *Diöcesis* in P.W.

Africa. The sixth Diocese, Pannoniae, is followed by Britanniae. Thus the eastern Dioceses come first, the western second.

The order of the provinces in each Diocese is in the case of the Eastern Dioceses (I–V) intended to be a geographical order; but in the case of the Western provinces (VIII–XII) an official order, that is, provinces governed by consulares take precedence over provinces governed by praesides, and a proconsular province takes precedence over both (as always in the *Notitia Dignitatum*). As for VI (Pannoniae) the order might be either the one or the other, and as for VII (Britanniae) we have no independent data for deciding.

Thus the whole *Laterculus* is not homogeneous. The list of the Eastern provinces is compiled on a different principle from that of the Western. This difference was noticed by Mommsen, and it could hardly escape anyone's attention on the most cursory inspection; but he did not consider it any further. Yet it suggests that the list as we have it may have been compiled from two distinct sources, and therefore it appears to me to be a mistake in method to analyse it in the first instance as a whole, as critics have hitherto done, instead of taking the Eastern and Western parts separately. For it is possible that they were originally independent documents, and may therefore be of different dates.

In the following analysis I propose to consider the Dioceses in order (as Mommsen did), but to draw separately for each of the two heterogeneous sections whatever conclusions may be drawn as to the *terminus ante quem* and the *terminus post quem* of its composition. If they coincide, well and good.

#### THE SIX EASTERN DIOCESES.

I. *Diocesis Orientis*. Of the seventeen provinces enumerated the first five are Egyptian. This supplies at once a date *ante quem*. Placidus, eponymous consul of A.D. 343, was comes Orientis Aegypti et Mesopotamiae (*C.I.L.* x, 1700), and later we find Vulcacius Rufinus (consul of A.D. 349) bearing the same title (Dessau, 1237). The law in *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 63 points to a still later date for this arrangement, for it probably belongs to A.D. 370 or 373 (see Mommsen *ad loc.*). The Diocese of Egypt is first mentioned in *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 97, March 8, 383; and the Prefect of Egypt receives the title *augustalis* between March 17, 380 and May 14, 382. Thus the separation of Egypt as a distinct Diocese was due to Theodosius I, and may be dated roughly to about A.D. 381.

The five Egyptian provinces enumerated are: Libya superior, Libya inferior, Thebais, Aegyptus Iovia, Aegyptus Herculia. There is no question that this enumeration represents the division made by Diocletian, as Iovia and Herculia show, and we can date to a year Diocletian's reconstitution. It was subsequent to A.D. 292, for

at that time the Thebaid was still only an ἐπιστρατηγίς, as we know from *C.I.Gr.* 4892.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore without hesitation place it A.D. 297 after the suppression of the rebel Achilleus, on which occasion it is recorded that administrative changes were made.<sup>2</sup> It was principally on this account that Mommsen fixed on A.D. 297 as the date of the whole list. But it is really only a *terminus post quem*.

We have two papyrus texts which show that Herculia lasted under that name till the sole reign of Constantine. Aurelius Antoninus is mentioned as ἡγούμενος Αὐγούστου Ἡρκουλείας in A.D. 316, April 1, and Arsinoites appears under the praeses of Herculia in A.D. 322, December 12.<sup>3</sup> We may take it for granted that no change was made by Licinius in 323-4 or by Constantine till at earliest 325. But both Iovia and Herculia disappeared before A.D. 341 and made way for Aegyptus and Augustamnica. It has been shown by Mr. Gelzer that Herculia corresponded roughly to the ἐπιστρατηγίς of Heptanomia, and that the new change consisted in adding to Herculia the Eastern part of the Delta, at the expense of Iovia. The enlarged Herculan province was named Augustamnica, while the diminished Iovian province was entitled simply Aegyptus.<sup>4</sup> This change was made before A.D. 341<sup>5</sup>; probably, one may suppose, by Constantine and therefore before A.D. 337. Thus we get as an *ante quem* limit—strictly A.D. 341, but probably A.D. 337.

The list then crosses the Isthmus and enumerates the provinces of what was to be, after *c.* A.D. 381, the Diocese of Oriens under the comes Orientis. The order is geographical so far as possible; some leap could not be avoided, and there is a leap from Cyprus to Mesopotamia. The first seven of the twelve extra-Egyptian provinces are:—

Arabia,  
item Arabia,  
Augusta Libanensis,  
Palestina,  
Fenice,  
Syria Coele,  
Augusta Euphratensis.

The first three items have been much debated. Augusta Libanensis occurs nowhere else, and some scholars have maintained

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Camille Jullian said that the list could only have been drawn up between A.D. 292 and 297. See his learned article in *Revue historique* xix, p. 331 (1882).

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, 9, 23: *Ea tamen occasione ordinavit provide multa et disposuit quae ad nostram aetatem manent.* Cp. Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, i, 421.

<sup>3</sup> *Pap. Oxyrb.* vi, 896; *Archiv. f. Pap.-F.* iii, 340.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byz. Verw. Aegyptens*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> See *Pap. Oxyrb.* i, 87, *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 34 and other texts cited by Gelzer, *ib.*

that the four words *item Arabia Augusta Libanensis* are a late interpolation. This is an arbitrary assumption which has no probability. (The word *item*, which makes no difference to the sense, is doubtless the addition of a copyist, to make it clear that Arabia is repeated. Similarly in the list of Polemius Silvius we find *item* inserted in two places between two provinces of the same name in one family of MSS.). The only two views which we need consider are those of Mr. Jullian<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Ohnesorge.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Jullian thinks that two provinces are designated: Arabia = Trajan's Arabia, and Augusta Libanensis = a part of Phoenicia which was made into a new province. He regards *item Arabia* as an interpolation.

Mr. Ohnesorge likewise thinks that two provinces are designated, but does not alter the text. The first is Arabia = the Southern part of Trajan's Arabia which was afterwards named Palaestina Salutaris and included Petra and Aila. He thinks that this was cut off by Diocletian from the Northern section, the boundary being the river Arnon (the old limit between the Moabites and Amorites). The Northern portion, with the addition of territory to the north, formed according to him a new province, named Arabia Augusta Libanensis. It appears to me that both critics are partly right and partly wrong. Mr. Ohnesorge is right in his view that when this list of the Orient provinces was drawn up, Trajan's Arabia had been divided into two provinces; but he is wrong in supposing that the Northern province was called Arabia Augusta Libanensis. Such a designation appears to me almost impossible. Against Mr. Jullian is his rejection of words which are not obviously corrupt, but he has rightly seen that Augusta Libanensis is the name of a province, just like Augusta Euphratensis.

The simple explanation is that three, not two, provinces are designated; the two Arabia's (distinguished in some way not indicated in the List, perhaps as I and II), and Augusta Libanensis (which is mentioned nowhere else, but corresponds to the Phoenice Libani of the Notitia Dignitatum).

To find a *terminus ante quem* we have to ask how and when it came about that the Southern Arabia became a second Palestine. The answer is partly supplied in the correspondence of Libanius. There we find that in A.D. 357 Clematius was appointed governor (consularis) of Palestine,<sup>3</sup> and that his province included Petra<sup>4</sup> and Elusa.<sup>5</sup> In other words, before this year the province of Palestine had been enlarged by adding to it the Southern Arabia. In the following year A.D. 358, this larger Palestine was again resolved

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Die römische Provinz-Liste* von 297. Teil i. Duisburg, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 478 (Wolf) = 563 (Förster). For the dates

of the letters see Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (1906). Cp. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* 324 W. = 321 F.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* 318 W. = 315 F.

into its two components parts, but with altered nomenclature; the original Palaestina (under a consular) becoming Palaestina prima, and the part which had formerly been Arabia becoming Palaestina secunda (under a praeses).<sup>1</sup>

We have now to ask how long the administrative arrangement lasted by which the southern portion of Trajan's Arabia was part of the consular province of Palestine, which explains why that portion came to bear the Palestinian name. We have one indication. In the subscriptions to the Council of Nicaea, Peter Bishop of Aila is included among the bishops of the Provincia Palaestina.<sup>2</sup> This gives us A.D. 325 as an extreme *ante quem* limit.

The incorporation of the Southern Arabia in Palestine, before A.D. 325, meant that from this time forward there was only one Arabia (the northern or Bostraean). Hence there is no difficulty about the law *Cod. Theod.* 9, 40, 4, addressed to Theodore, *praeses Arabiae*. The date in the text *Constantio A iiii et Constante C* is impossible; there is no such year. If *iiii* is right, *C* must be changed to *A iii*, and the year is A.D. 346; while, if *C* is right and Gallus is meant, *iiii* must be changed to *v*, and the year is A.D. 352. But whichever the date, there is no difficulty about *Arabiae*; there was only one Arabian province from A.D. 325 forward.<sup>3</sup>

As for the *terminus post quem*, there is no reason to question the view that the reorganization of the oriental provinces was mainly the work of Diocletian and was probably carried out during A.D. 295-7, while the Emperor was himself in those regions. Some particular changes may have been made earlier. It appears to me quite probable that the separation of Isauria from Cilicia, and its organization as a distinct province, may have been, as Mr. Jullian has suggested,<sup>4</sup> due to Probus.

## II. *Dioecesis Pontica*. The seven provinces are:—

Bitinia  
Cappadocia  
Galatia  
Paphlagonia, nunc in duas divisa,  
Diospontus  
Pontus Polemiacus  
Armenia minor, nunc et maior addita.

The first thing to be noticed is that we have here two undisguised additions to the original List, recording the division of Paphlagonia into Paphlagonia and Honorias, and the creation

<sup>1</sup> *Epp.* 337, 338 W. 334, 335 F. Eupaterius was the first praeses of Pal. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, *Eccl. Occ. Mon. iuris ant.*, i, 1, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees with Ammian's account (xiv, 8) of

the Orient Diocese, so far as it goes, but he does not mention the second Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 361. He refers to Vopiscus, *V. Probi.* 16, 4-17, 1.



of Armenia maior. It will be convenient to leave these additions out of consideration for the present, and come back to them when we have gone through the original List (see below § 9, p. 142).

It may also be noticed that the geographical order of the first three provinces is not accurate. It ought, as Mommsen pointed out, to be either Capp., Gal., Bithyn., or reversely.

Diospontus is the one province here from which we can infer chronological limits. It is clear that it was the later Helenopontus and was named by Diocletian, (*Dios*—corresponding to *Jovia* in Aegyptus *Jovia*), and that it was he who divided Pontus (Polemiacus) into two parts.<sup>1</sup> Mommsen knew of no other mention of Diospontus. It occurs, however, in some of the MSS. of the subscriptions of the Council of Nicaea.<sup>2</sup> A Pontic inscription found at Vezü Küprü by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson mentions a praeses *Diosponti*, and can be dated between A.D. 317 and 323<sup>3</sup>; another found by the same explorer shows that the province had been renamed Helenopontus not later than 337 and perhaps before 333.<sup>4</sup>

From these data we get the limits 323-337 for the disappearance of Diospontus and the substitution of Helenopontus. But we can get narrower limits. The new name in honour of Constantine's mother cannot have been given to the province either before he bestowed upon her the style Fl. Helena Augusta, or after her death. These dates are determined by her coins. She was raised to the august rank in A.D. 324, after the war. She died, an octogenarian, in A.D. 329, after her return from the East where she had spent A.D. 327-8.<sup>5</sup> Thus the limit *ante quem* supplied by the list of Pontic provinces is A.D. 329.

III. *Dioecesis Asiana*. The order of the provinces is intended to be geographical, but the intention is clumsily carried out. The two things to be noticed are that the province of Lycaonia which was instituted shortly before A.D. 373<sup>6</sup> is absent, and that the name of the province *Lycia* must have fallen out through the oversight of a copyist (probably after Lydia), as Mommsen pointed out (cp. below §7).

IV. *Dioecesis Traciae*. The six provinces are enumerated in geographical order, zigzag from S.E. to N.W. The division was permanent, and there is no particular reason for thinking that it was prior to Diocletian, but it may have been. For instance, Probus may at least have begun a reorganization of Thrace.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This division cannot have been earlier than A.D. 293, the year in which the Caesars were created, as is shown by the inscription of Aurelius Priscianus v.p. *praeses provinciae Ponti*, *C.I.L.* iii, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, *Eccles. Occ. Mon. iuris ant.* i, l. p. 6 sq. It is also mentioned by Himerius, *Or.* i, § 14 (ὁ διὸς καλούμενος Πόντος).

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 14184<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 14184<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, vol. i, p. cxxx, cxlviii.

<sup>6</sup> See Basil's letter of that year to Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, *Epp.* 138, 8 (ed. Benedict. 1839, vol. iii, p. 332).

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Vopiscus, *V. Probi*, 16, 3.

V. *Dioecesis Misiarum*. This Diocese corresponds to the two later Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which together composed the Prefecture of Illyricum. The provinces are geographically arranged, beginning with the northern which border on the Danube and proceeding southward to Achaea, then returning northward to take in the three western provinces, and finally adding Crete.

It is named the Diocese of the *Moesiae*, although Moesia inferior belonged to the Diocese of Thrace. The only other occurrence of the designation is in the well-known inscription of C. Caelius Saturninus (*C.I.L.* vi, 1704) who had been *comes d. n. Constantini uictoris Aug.* and vicarius of the praetorian prefect *in urbe Roma*, and also *per Mysias*. Mommsen has pointed out that the inscription must be later than the death of Licinius and belongs to the sole reign of Constantine.<sup>1</sup> We meet a *comes Macedoniae* in A.D. 327, and this may show that by that time the Diocese of the *Moesiae* had been already broken up into D. Daciae and D. Macedoniae,<sup>2</sup> but the first quite clear evidence for this division is in Festus, in A.D. 369.<sup>3</sup>

The provinces are as follows (as Mommsen arranged them):

Dacia  
Misia superior Margensis  
Dardania  
Macedonia  
Tessalia  
<Achaia>  
[Priantina]  
Privalentina  
Epiros noua  
Epiros uetus  
Creta.

The two errors were corrected by Mommsen: *Achaia* had fallen out after *Tessalia*, and *Priantina* is a dittogram of Privalentina.

The first provinces of the List are formed from Domitian's Moesia superior. It has been generally supposed that Moesia superior was first of all divided by Aurelian into two only, namely Moesia sup. and Dacia.<sup>4</sup> But an important inscription on a small tablet, found at Bov, has been published by Mr. Filow<sup>5</sup> which proves

<sup>1</sup> *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo*, in *Nuove memorie dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, 298 sqq. (Leipzig, 1865). In the two texts cited by Mommsen from Anon. Vales. Pars I, viz. § 18 and § 21, it is not at all clear that Moesia means the diocese; in the first the natural meaning is Moesia inferior.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 306. For *comites* = *vicarii*, cp. *Cod. Theod.* 11, 34, 1 (A.D. 331), etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Brev.* c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Vopiscus, *Vit. Aurel.* 39; Eutropius, ix, 15.

<sup>5</sup> 'Die Teilung des aurelianischen Dakien' in *Klio* (1912), pp. 12, 234 sqq.. The statement of Festus (*Brev.* c. 8) is *per Aurelianum duae Daciae factae sunt*. In the list of Illyric provinces which follows, Förster has rightly inserted <Dardaniam> after *Moesiam*. This is guaranteed by the text of Jordanes, *Rom.* 218, who copied from Festus.



that two Dacian provinces had been created by Aurelian, thus confirming the statement of Festus. It runs:

Caro et Carino Augg. Gaianus preses finem posuit  
inter du[as D]acias dila[psum ?]

The date must be A.D. 283, and it is obvious that Aurelian set up the boundary stones, one of which Gaianus restored. There were, then, two Dacias when Diocletian came to the throne and, therefore, Mr. Filow has inferred that we should read in our List: Dacia <Dacia>, that is presumably Dacia ripensis and Dacia mediterranea. Aurelian's Dacia mediterranea might have included Dardania, and Dardania, Mr. Filow thinks, was split off as a distinct province by Diocletian.

The inscription proves that Aurelian divided Moesia sup. into at least three provinces—Moesia sup., Dacia [I], and Dacia [II]—if not four; for there is nothing to show whether it was he or Diocletian who was the creator of the province of Dardania; we do not know how far his two Dacias corresponded to the two Dacias of later times, D. ripensis and D. mediterranea, which existed before A.D. 342-3.<sup>1</sup> I do not agree with Mr. Filow in thinking it a matter of course that the word *Dacia* must have fallen out of the List. There is no reason why Diocletian might not have united Aurelian's two Dacias into a single province; and I think we should accept the actual evidence we have, namely the text of the List as it stands, that he did so, especially as the evidence of *Cod. Theod.* 2, 19, 2 (praeses Daciae) points to a single Dacia in A.D. 321.

In any case Diocletian, I submit, created an entirely new province here, which was destined to be short-lived. Mommsen explained *Margensis* as an honorific title given to Moesia superior in reminiscence of the victory over Carinus in the lower valley of the Margus which established Diocletian on the throne (A.D. 285). He may be right as to the motive of the name, but Moesia superior *Margensis* appears to me a highly improbable title for a province. There is no parallel to it. If Diocletian had wished merely to honour the memory of the battle by renaming the province in which it was fought, the new name would surely have been simply Moesia *Margensis*. But it does not seem very likely that he would have chosen this way for commemorating his victory, unless something more was involved. What Diocletian did was this, if I am not greatly mistaken; he cut off the northern part of Aurelian's Moesia sup. and constituted it a new province, which he named *Margensis*, with the seat of its governor at Margum which stood near the confluence of the Margus (Morawa) with the Danube. The List then gives the names of four, not three, provinces, into which through

<sup>1</sup> This (not 346) is the date of the Council of Sardica (see E. Schwartz, 'Zur Gesch. des Athanasios,' in *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 341). Dacia ripensis

appears in the subscriptions to that Council (*Mansi, Concil.* iii, p. 42).

Aurelian's and Diocletian's changes Domitian's Moesia sup. had been divided :

Dacia  
Misia superior  
Margensis  
Dardania.

To Epirus noua we have no other express reference till the reign of Valentinian I, but it is implied in Ἡπείρων in Theodoret's account of the Council of Sardica.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the division of Epirus was later than Diocletian's reign.

VI. *Diocesis Pannoniarum*. This is the Diocese which was afterwards known as the Diocese of Illyricum.<sup>2</sup> We find the number and names of the seven provinces still unchanged in the Notitia Dignitatum. They are: Pannonia inferior (= secunda), Savensis (= Savia), Dalmatia, Valeria, Pannonia superior (= prima), Noricus ripariensis, Noricus mediterranea. This order is geographical. Beginning with Pannonia II, it proceeds westward to Dalmatia, then returns to Valeria which is immediately north of Pannonia II and enumerates the four northern provinces. But the order is, as it happens, also the order of rank.<sup>3</sup> For Pannonia II was a consular province, and Savia was correctorial, the rest being praesidial. From the fact that Savia was correctorial I conjecture that the breaking up of the two Pannonias into smaller provinces had been begun by Aurelian.<sup>4</sup>

For the existence of the two Noric provinces in A.D. 311 we have monumental proof in the inscription *C.I.L.* iii, 4796 where Noricum medit. is mentioned, and it is quite probable that they date from Diocletian's reign. But it is otherwise with Valeria. This province was not named after Diocletian, but in honour of his daughter Valeria, the wife of Galerius. This we are expressly told by Aurelius Victor (40, 10) and by Ammian (19, 11, 4). The passage of Victor indicates the date. He says that Galerius left Italy and soon afterwards died *cum agrum satis reipublicae commodantem caesis immanibus siluis atque emisso lacu Pelsonae apud Pannonios fecisset, cuius gratia prouinciam uxoris nomine Valeriam appellauit*. This shows that in A.D. 308-11 he was engaged in eastern Pannonia in improving the land and that he organised then the province of Valeria cutting it off from Pannonia inferior.

This supplies the date A.D. 308-11 as a *terminus post quem* for the List.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. ecc.* ii, 8. l. p. 101 (ed. Parmentier). In the Libellus Synodicus (Mansi, iii, 73) it is Ἡπείρων.

<sup>2</sup> As Mommsen pointed out, Pannonia is used to designate this Diocese in Anon. Val. Pars i, 4 § 9; *huic Seuero Pannoniae et Italae urbes et Africae contigerunt*.

<sup>3</sup> And so Mommsen took it, not observing that the order might also be taken as geographical.

<sup>4</sup> It may be noted that Dalmatia was already a praesidial province in A.D. 277, *C.I.L.* iii, *Supp.* 8707, *Aurelius Marcianus v. p. praeses prov. Dalmatia* (so A.D. 280, *ib.* 1805); cp. Vopiscus, *V. Carini* 16, 6, *praesidiatus Dalmatiae*.

§ 4. Assuming provisionally that the Diocese Pannoniae belongs to the Eastern group of Dioceses in our List, we may now sum up the chronological results we have obtained. From the Egyptian portion of the Diocese of the Orient we get as a *post quem* limit A.D. 297, as an *ante quem* limit A.D. 341 (or probably 337). From the Asiatic portion of the Diocese of the Orient we get A.D. 325 *ante quem*. A.D. 325 is the outside limit, and it may seem somewhat more probable that the change in regard to Arabia was made some years earlier by Licinius than that it was made by Constantine in the months between the defeat of Licinius in A.D. 324 and the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325. From the Pontic Diocese we get A.D. 329 *ante quem* and from the Moesian A.D. 342 to 343 or perhaps A.D. 327 *ante quem*. From the Pannonian we get A.D. 308–311 *post quem*.

The conclusion is that the Eastern section of the List was drawn up between A.D. 308–311 and A.D. 325 (or probably a few years earlier). These are the extreme limits.

I proceed to consider the Western Dioceses.

#### THE SIX WESTERN DIOCESES.

§ 5. VII. *Diocesis Britanniarum*. The provincial division of Britain we find here is that which existed up to A.D. 369 when a fifth province, Valentia, was added by Valentinian I, so that this year is a *terminus ante quem*. The breaking up of the two provinces of Septimius Severus (Britannia superior and inferior) into four was the work of Maximian and Constantius, Maxima Caesariensis being created by Maximian and Flavia Caesariensis by Constantius. I have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that these two were not created simultaneously but successively. Mommsen supposed that the reorganization of the Britannic provinces was carried out in A.D. 296–7 immediately after the defeat of Allectus; but as there is no case of a Caesar giving his name to a province, it seems more probable that Flavia Caesariensis was created in A.D. 306 when Constantius was Augustus and was in Britain. I think we are justified in taking A.D. 306 as a *post quem* limit.

We find that later Maxima was a consular province, the other three being praesidial. In the other Western Dioceses in this List, consular provinces come first. But here we find Maxima in the third place. It has therefore been inferred by Mommsen that when this List was made all four Britannic provinces were alike praesidial.

VIII. *Diocesis Galliarum*. Diocletian divided Gaul into two Dioceses, a Northern (Galliae), and a Southern. The eight provinces of Galliae enumerated here were still unchanged in A.D. 369 when

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. i (1923) p. 4.

Festus wrote his *Breviarium* which gives the same List. They were afterwards increased by two, Lugdunensis iii, and Senonia (which was created by Magnus Maximus) also called Lugdunensis iv.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement in our List dates from the reign of Diocletian, as is shown by the province Maxima Sequanorum which must have been named after his colleague Maximian. It is however here called Sequania; whereas in Festus, in *Notitia Galliarum*, in *Notitia Dignitatum* and in Polemius it has its full official name.

The List begins with four consular provinces, the two Belgicae and the two Germaniae. Lugdunensis i (which is also consular in the *Not. Dig.*) comes after the praesidial Sequania; from which it may be inferred that when the List was drawn up the province was praesidial, as we know that it still was in A.D. 319 (*Cod. Theod.* II, 3, 1).

IX. *Dioecesis Biennensis*. This name for the Diocese of Southern Gaul occurs only here. In the *Notitia Galliarum* (xi, 1) it is described as *provinciae numero vii*. But its official name seems to have been at one time *Quinque provinciae*. In an inscription of Fl. Sallustius, of A.D. 364 (*C.I.L.* vi, 1729), he is described as having been *uicarius quinque prouinciarum*. A law of A.D. 399 is addressed to Macrobius *uicarius quinque prouinciarum* (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 10, 15). And in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *rationalis summarum* of the Count of the Sacred Largesses, is called *r.s. v. prouu.* (xi. 18) and similarly the *rationalis reiprivatae* is *r.r.p. per v. prouu.*<sup>2</sup> In that document, the two Gallic Dioceses are administered together under the same vicarius, and his title is *uicarius Septem prouinciarum* (xxii).<sup>3</sup> This title shows that the change, which must have been made in the early years of the fifth century, consisted in placing northern Gaul under the administration of the vicarius of southern Gaul.

The persistence of the name *Quinque provinciae* for the southern Diocese long after the provinces were seven in number proves that the period in which the provinces were five must have lasted long enough to make the name so familiar and current that it was preserved in official use though it had ceased to be accurate. This suggests

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that Lugd. iii was also formed by Maximus. These two provinces are not mentioned by Ammian. The motive for the alteration of provincial divisions was in many, perhaps in most, cases some disturbance due to rebellion or invasion, and we may conjecture that Maximus was prompted to a reorganization by troubles in Armorica. We do not know the date of the inscription of Epetum (a few miles from Salona), which records that L. Artorius [Ju?]stus, prefect of leg. vi victrix (York), was dux of an expedition consisting of Britannic troops against the Armoricans (*C.I.L.* iii, 1919). It seems to me more likely to belong to the third century than to the fourth. But I may

take the opportunity of observing that the expedition probably involved operations by sea, off the north Gallic coast, and the reason for appointing the prefect of the York legion to the command was that he had had naval experience, having been once *praepositus classis Misenatium*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. also Mansi, *Conc.* iii, 491, *Synodic.* to the bishops *per Gallias et quinque provincias* (A.D. 374). We have, however, *septem provinciae* in *Cod. Theod.* 15, 1, 15, A.D. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the fifth century inscription on a statue to Acilius Glabrio Sibidius who had been *uicarius per Gallias Septem prouinciarum*, *C.I.L.* vi. 1678.

the possibility that the original five provinces which formed Diocletian's Diocese had already existed before his reign.

In the List of Verona the seven provinces which we find in the later lists are enumerated :

Viennensis  
Narbonensis prima  
Narbonensis secunda  
Novempopulana  
Aquitania prima  
Aquitania secunda  
Alpes maritimae.

It is easy to see that the original five provinces of Diocletian's Diocese were Viennensis, Narbonensis, Novempopulana, Aquitania, and Alpes maritimae, and that they became seven by the partitions of Aquitania and Narbonensis. The province Viennensis occurs in the subscriptions to the Council of Arles in A.D. 314,<sup>1</sup> and it had given its name to the whole Diocese at the time when the Verona List was compiled.

Novempopulana, the true and original Aquitania, between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, had not improbably been made a distinct province before the time of Diocletian. If not, it was ripe for the change. The Aquitanians south of the Garonne disliked the administrative association of their country with the Celts between the Garonne and the Loire, and some time in the third century they obtained a separation which, if it did not amount to having a governor (praeses) of their own, must have meant a separate financial and military administration. The evidence for this is the inscription of Hasparren which unfortunately is not dated but must belong, it is generally agreed, to the third century (*C.I.L.* xiii, 412). It states that a certain Verus went to Rome and secured from the Emperor a separation which the Aquitanians desired :

pro nouem optinuit populis seiungere Gallos.

Mr. Hirschfeld has contended that the inscription was cut in the early years of the third century, and that the 'sejunction' was only 'in fiscaler und militärischer Hinsicht.'<sup>2</sup> But it may have been a good deal later than he thought.<sup>3</sup> In any case it seems not unlikely that Novempopulana may have been constituted as a distinct province by Aurelian (or Probus), and at the same time Viennensis created, so that the five provinces of south Gaul may date from ten years or more before Diocletian's accession, ready to form one of his Dioceses.

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Conc.* ii, 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Aquitani in der Römerzeit* (S.B. of Berlin Academy, 1896, i, 429 *sqq.*), p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Homo, *Aurélien*, p. 167.

In the fifties of the fourth century the Aquitanicae seem to have been under a single governor, judging from the inscription of Saturninus Sallustius Secundus (*C.I.L.* vi, 1764) from which we learn that this distinguished minister, who (as we know from Ammian) was Praetorian Prefect of the East in A.D. 361-4, had been quaestor, and proconsul of Africa, and still further back in his career *praeses prouvinciae Aquitanicae*. His Aquitanian post can hardly have been earlier than towards the end of the reign of Constantine the Great and may have been in the reign of Constantine II or of Constans. But we cannot with any certainty infer the year 340 or thereabouts for the original bipartition of Aquitanica. For there may have been two Aquitanicae before the time of Sallustius, and if (as sometimes happened in other cases<sup>1</sup>) they were united for the time being under his sole administration, he might easily have been designated in his inscription as *praeses pr. Aquit.* simply (instead of *pr. pr. Aquit. primae et secundae*).<sup>2</sup> If then we should find other reasons for concluding that this List of the Western Dioceses was composed at a date prior to the sole reign of Constantine the Great, the stone of Sallustius is no insuperable obstacle.

The two Aquitanicae appear in A.D. 369, in the list of Festus (c. 6).

But Festus has only one Narbonensis, and the earliest evidence for two Narbonese provinces seems to occur in the Acts of the Council of Aquileia in A.D. 381.<sup>3</sup> Yet we cannot take the text of Festus as proving decisively that the division of Narbonensis was later than A.D. 369. The list given by this writer may have been drawn up at a moment when the two Narbonenses were temporarily united under one governor. Or Narbonensis II, a small province between the Rhone valley and the Alpes maritimae, may have been unknown to him. It is to be noted that it was not continuous with Narbonensis I but separated from it by Viennensis which included the Rhone valley right down to Massilia.<sup>4</sup>

It appears to me a very hazardous proposition that the seven provinces of this Diocese are due to a rehandling of the List some time after A.D. 369, seeing that there are no signs of such a rehandling in any other part of the document (the two interpolations in the Pontic Diocese being professed additions to the original text); and I believe that the five provinces of D. Viennensis had already become seven by the division of Aquitanica and of Narbonensis

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the temporary union of the two Mauretanian provinces (*C.I.L.* viii, 8475); that of Europa and Thracia (*C.I.L.* vi, 1690) under one governor.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *prouvincia Aquitanica* = both Aquitanicae, in Ammian, 15, 11, 13-15

<sup>3</sup> Mansi, iii, p. 615, a letter addressed to the bishops *prouvinciae Viennensium et Narbonensium primae et secundae*.

<sup>4</sup> The question of Narbonensis has been much debated. See Kuhn, *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* Band 115, 1877; Czwalińska, *Ueber das Verzeichniss der röm. Provinzen vom J. 297* (Wesel, 1881); Ohnesorge, *op. cit.* Mommsen accepts the two Narbonenses for Diocletian's reign (*Ges. Schr.* v. 583).



when the rest of the List of the western Dioceses was originally composed. It might be conjectured that the reorganization was the work of Constantine during the years A.D. 308-11. The division of Narbonensis involved the extension of Viennensis to the sea and the inclusion of Arles in the latter province.

X. *Dioecesis Italiciana*. The text of the list of Italian provinces is imperfect. The heading gives their number as sixteen, and only nine are enumerated, namely :

Benetiam Histriam,  
 Flaminiam,  
 Picenum,  
 Tusciam Umbriam,  
 Apuliam Calabriam,  
 Lucaniam,  
 Corsicam,  
 Alpes Cotias,  
 Retia.

The others which we should expect to find are : Aemilia, Liguria, Samnium, Campania, Sicilia, Sardinia and Valeria. We have virtually the same list as that in the *Notitia Dignitatum* with the exception of Raetia II; the date of the partition of Raetia is unknown, but it was before the end of the fourth century. Lucania doubtless = Lucania et Bruttii, and Flaminia may = Flaminia et Picenum (sc. *annonarium*). The association of a part of Picenum with Flaminia is as early at least as the reign of Constantine, as we can infer from the careers, for instance, of L. Turgius Secundus (*C.I.L.* vi, 1772) and Fabius Titianus (*ib.* 1717), though at about the same period we find L. Crepereius Madalianus described as *corrector Flaminiae* simply.

The provincial organisation of Italy<sup>1</sup> seems to have been the work of Aurelian, and all the provinces seem to have been at first under *correctores*; this title survived in the case of most of them far into the fourth century, and in the case of two (Apulia et Calabria, Lucania et Bruttii) was preserved always. It may be observed that *corrector* (which under the later system ranked between the *consularis* and the *praeses*) was in the time of Aurelian a title of considerable prestige. This is evident from an inscription of Palmyra, published by Mr. Clermont-Ganneau,<sup>2</sup> which shows that kings of Palmyra, who regarded themselves as the peers of the Augustus,

<sup>1</sup> For the general study of the Italian regions and provinces Mommsen's Essay *Die libri coloniarum* (*Ges. Schriften*, v, 146, *sqq.*) is important. Cp. also *Die italischen Regionen* (*ib.* 269, *sqq.*)

<sup>2</sup> 'Odeinat et Vaballat, rois de Palmyre et leur titre romain de corrector,' in *Revue biblique* 1920, pp. 382-419.

were nevertheless content to accept the title of *corrector* (ἐπανορθωτής; it is transcribed in indigenous characters); it was used, in fact, to legitimize their usurpation. This, as he observes, explains the treatment of the tyrant Tetricus; he was 'let down easily' by being appointed *corrector totius Italiae*.<sup>1</sup> All the provincial governors of the Italian provinces had at first the title *corrector Italiae*, qualified by the name of the portion they administered.<sup>2</sup>

One province in Italy was probably created by Diocletian, for it bears his name, Valeria. It was a sort of vanishing province. It is not there apparently in A.D. 364 (*Cod. Theod.* 9, 30, 1); it appears in A.D. 399 (*ib.* 9, 30, 5); it seems to disappear in A.D. 400 (*C.I.L.* vi, 1706), and in A.D. 413 (*Cod. Theod.* 11, 29, 7); but occurs in the Not. Dig. (c. A.D. 428), and in Polemius Silvius (*Nursia Valeria in qua est Reate*<sup>3</sup>). On its early history, an inscription may at any moment throw light; but as it is only a conjecture that it occurred in the Verona List, it need not be considered further here.

As for the province of Raetia, there is a stone of Augsburg with a dedication to Diocletian in A.D. 290 by Septimius Valentio *p(raeses) p(rovinciae) R(aetiae)*; *C.I.L.* iii, 5810. We may conjecture with a good deal of probability that Raetia had already been made a praesidial province either by Aurelian after his wars with the Juthungan invaders or by Probus.<sup>4</sup>

The most important fact about Italy as it appears in our List is that it forms one Diocese and has not yet been broken up into the two, Italia and Urbs Roma, which appear in the Notitia Dignitatum. The earliest reference to the Diocese of Urbs Roma seems to be in the inscription of Caelius Saturninus (*C.I.L.* vi, 1704), who was *Vicarius praef. praet. in urbe Roma*. This shows that the partition of Italy into two Dioceses must have been made before the end of the reign of Constantine (cp. above, p. 134), and thus supplies an *ante quem* limit; it is far from showing that the Diocese Urbs Roma existed in the reign of Diocletian, as Mr. Seeck has asserted.<sup>5</sup>

XI. *Dioecesis Hispaniarum*. The six provinces are the same which we find in the list of Festus (c. 5); the province of insulae Baleares which appears in the Not. Dig. was added after A.D. 369. There is nothing to show that, territorially at least, this list does not

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Aug. Vit. xxx tyr.* 14. In A.D. 283 or 284 Caecionius Rufius Volusianus was *corrector Italiae per annos octo*, *C.I.L.* x, 1655 and vi, 1707. For the *correctores* of Italy, cp. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* ii, 1086, and *Eph. epigr.* i, 138; L. Homo, *Aurélien*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. under Diocletian, T. Flavius Postumius

Titianus was *corrector Italiae regionis transpadanae*, *C.I.L.* v, 1418.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, i, p. 532.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Vopiscus, *V. Probi* 16, 1, *Retias sic pacatas reliquit*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. ant. Welt*, ii, p. 498.



represent the reorganization of Diocletian; but it may, partly at least, have been earlier.

Beticam  
Lusitaniam  
Kartaginiensis  
Gallecia  
Tarraconensis  
Mauritania Tingitania.

The two first provinces were consular, the rest praesidial in A.D. 369 (Festus, *ib.*). Lusitania was raised to consular rank between A.D. 336 and 360 (*C.I.L.* vi, 1777 and ii, 191); so far as our List is concerned, it might be either one or the other. The changes in administration due to Diocletian (or one of his recent predecessors) were two: the division of Tarraconensis = Hispania citerior into two praesidial provinces, Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis, and the association of Tingimauretania with Spain instead of with Africa.

XII. *Dioecesis Africae*. In the list of the African provinces the MS. is exceptionally corrupt. It begins with *proconsularis bizacina zeugitana* which must obviously be corrected (with Mommsen) to

Proconsularis Zeugitana,<sup>1</sup>  
Bizacina.

Then the list proceeds:

Numidia Cirtensis  
Numidia militiana  
Mauritania Caesariensis  
Mauritania Tabia insidiana,

where the second and fourth items are unintelligible as they stand.

A part of the reorganization of the African provinces seems to have been carried out by Maximian in A.D. 289-90, just after or during a Moorish War. Mauretania (Caesariensis) was still undivided in A.D. 288 (*C.I.L.* viii, 8474, a stone of Sitifis), while in A.D. 290 in the two dedications of Aurelius Litua (*praeses* of Maur. Caes.), thanking the gods for victories over barbarians, two Mauretanian provinces are mentioned (*ib.* 8924, 9324). We can date these inscriptions by a stone of Auzia (*ib.* 9041).

Whether the province of Byzacena was created at the same time, we do not know, but it was certainly created in Diocletian's reign, as is shown by its original title, Valeria Byzacena, by which it was

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen's latest view, however, was that *Zeugitana* should be deleted (*C.I.L.* viii, *praef.* p. xvii, note 5). But I do not think that there is any necessity for considering *Zeugitana* an interpolation. It may have been added in the margin by

the original author of the List, who intended it to follow and qualify *proconsularis*, and then been inserted in the text by the first copyist of the List, after *bizacina*.

still called in A.D. 321 (*C.I.L.* vi, 1684-9; cp. *ib.* viii, 1127). As for Numidia, it had been governed by a praeses before the accession of Diocletian. We have several inscriptions of M. Aurelius Decimus v.p. (from Lambaesis, Cirta, and Diana), *praeses provinciae Numidiae*, and most of them are dated to the year 283-4.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest dated lists of the African provinces we have are that of the stone of Aradius Proculus, referring to the reign of Constantine,<sup>2</sup> and that of Festus (*Brev. c. 4*) A.D. 369. These agree in giving six provinces: Africa proconsularis, Numidia, Byzacena, Tripolis, Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Sitifensis.

Mauretania tabia must be equivalent to Mauretania Sitifensis, but *Sitifensis* cannot be elicited from *tabia* nor yet from *insidiana*. Mommsen (since his first publication) solved the problem of *tabia* by correcting it to *Zabia*. A text of Procopius (*Bell. Vand.* ii, 20, 30) informs us that the whole country of this province was called *Zabe*:

Ζάβην τε τὴν Χώραν ἣ ὑπὲρ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιόν ἐστι Μαυριτανία τε ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται μητρόπολιν Σίτιφιν ἔχουσα. *Zabi*, a fortress which in the sixth century was to bear the name of an Emperor (*Zabi Justiniana*), lay a good way to the south from Sitifis.

*Insidiana* remains unexplained, and Tripolitana is not represented in the List. It is not easy to see how it could be corrupted to *insidiana*. Mommsen's final conclusion was that *militiana* is an error for *tripolitana*, and that the title of the province was, when the List was drawn up, Numidia Tripolitana.<sup>3</sup> This does not seem probable. It once occurred to me that Tripoli might for some years have been included in Byzacena; but *C.I.L.* viii, *Supp.* 22763 makes this unlikely. When this stone was inscribed, Aurelius Quintianus v.p. was *praeses provinciae Tripolitanae*, and he must be the same person (as Mr. Gauckler saw) as the Aurelius Quintianus who was *praeses* of Numidia in A.D. 303 (as we learn from another stone, *C.I.L.* viii, 4764). The presumption is that his governorship of Tripolitana was also in the early years of the fourth century and that Tripolitana was then a distinct province.<sup>4</sup>

It seems obvious that the List implies a bipartition of what was afterwards one province, Numidia consularis,<sup>5</sup> into Numidia Cirtensis (vouched for in A.D. 306 by the inscription *C.I.L.* viii, 5526), no doubt consular, and Numidia militiana, presumably praesidial. Mr. Jullian suggested that *militiana* is a corruption of *limitanea*,

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* viii, 7002, 4578, 2529, 2530 and 2643.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.* vi, 1690. The inscription is subsequent to A.D. 340, the year of the consulship of Aradius. He was Prefect of Rome in 337, and, before that, proconsul of Africa discharging the duties of vicar of the Diocese, viz. *per provincias proconsularem et Numidiam Byzacium ac Tripolim itemque Mauretaniam Sitifensem et Caesariensem*.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* viii, *Praef.* p. xvii-xviii.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Fl. Victor Calpurnius v.e. *praeses prov.* Tripol. (viii, 22672), to whom Leptis Magna decreed a statue, functioned in Diocletian's reign or soon after.

<sup>5</sup> For the part of Numidia (including Hippo Regius, Calama, etc.) which was under the proconsul and may be distinguished as Num. proconsularis, see Mommsen, *C.I.L.* viii, *praef.* p. xvi.

the province being the southern part of Numidia, and Mr. Sieglin, though he does not adopt this emendation, places it (in his map of the Roman Empire intended to illustrate the Verona List<sup>1</sup>) almost entirely south of latitude  $35^{\circ}$ , and extends it westward along the borders of Sitifensis as far as  $2^{\circ} 50'$  E. longitude. This geographical reconstruction seems improbable, but that there were two Numidias must be considered certain.

There were thus seven provinces in Africa when the List was drawn up. *Militiana* remains an open question,<sup>2</sup> and we must take *insidiana* as in some unexplained way representing Tripolitana.

Mauretania Zabia supplies us with a limit *ante quem* for the African section of the List. For in A.D. 315 Sitifensis was the official name, as we learn from *C.I.L.* viii, 8477, where Septimius Flavianus is *p. p. Maur. Sitif.* (cp. also *ib.* 8476 and 8712). In A.D. 319 we find Flavius Terentianus *praeses provinciae Mauretaniae Sitif.* (*ib.* 8412), and some years later both the Mauretaniae are temporarily united under his government (*ib.* 8932).<sup>3</sup>

§ 6. From this review of the six western Dioceses, we see that Britain supplies us with a prior limit A.D. 306 and Africa with a posterior limit A.D. 315. The lists of provinces in Gaul, Italy and Spain are quite consistent with these dates; it is only for the Diocese of Viennensis that we have data which at first sight may seem to contradict this conclusion and point to a later *terminus ante quem*. But, as I have pointed out, they are by no means decisive.

§ 7. I have not hitherto referred to the fact that the *number* of provinces in each Diocese is noted in the List after the name of the Dioceses and in some cases does not correspond to the actual enumeration which follows. We may consider it now.

Leaving out Italy, where the List is incomplete, we find that of the other eleven Dioceses, the figures unquestionably correspond in six cases (Pontica, Asiana, Thrace, Pannoniae, Galliae, Viennensis). In Britanniae, where the number given is six, and there are only four provinces, we have obviously to do with a very familiar error of copyists. In two cases clear divergencies appear. The Diocese of the Orient *habet provincias numero XVIII*, but the actual list gives only 17 (or on the view either of Mr. Jullian or of Mr. Ohnesorge 16). The Diocese Hispaniae *habet prou. num. VII*, but only six are enumerated. In both these cases the numerals are simply erroneous.

The Diocese Moesiae is said to have XI provinces, but

<sup>1</sup> *Atlas Antiquus*, Lief. V. Nr. 27. Not a good map.

<sup>2</sup> *Mileuitana* would be an easy emendation, but it would involve a very improbable division of provinces.

<sup>3</sup> *Praeses prou. Maur. Cae. et Sitifensis*. The dedication is to Fl. Julius Constantius Caesar, who

was created Caesar on Nov. 8, A.D. 323. Flavius Augustianus, *p. Maur. Sitif.*, may have come between Flavianus and Terentianus. His stone (*C.I.L.* viii, 8475) is dedicated *Flavio Claudio Constantio nobilissimo Caes.*, where Constantio must be an error for *Constantino* (viz. Constantine II).

according to the interpretation of Mommsen, which has been generally accepted, only ten were enumerated. I have pointed out above that Margensis is a distinct province, and this conclusion has the advantage of bringing the actual enumeration into agreement with the figure given in the text.

Similarly the Diocese of Africa *habet provincias numero VII*. This agrees with the view adopted above that seven distinct provinces were named, and disagrees with the interpretation of Mommsen who discovers only six.

The Diocese of Asia offers a difficulty. It is stated to have *VIII* provinces, and so it has—as the List stands. But it really had *X*, for as pointed out above (p. 133) Lycia has been accidentally omitted. It seems less probable that the omission was an oversight of the original compiler, than that the name fell out (perhaps after *Lydia*) through the error of a copyist. It may therefore be asked whether all the statements as to the numbers of the provinces (*habet provincias numero*) were inserted not by the person who originally composed the List, but by some one else who rehandled it after *Lycia* had fallen out? or is the *VIII* a miscount of the first compiler? or finally did he correctly write *X*, and a later copyist seeing that only nine provinces were named change the *X* to *VIII*? This uncertainty leaves it open to question whether the numbers are from the hand of the original author of the List.

§ 8. The limits we have found for the six eastern Dioceses (including Pannoniae), A.D. 308-325, thus agree closely enough with those for the six western, A.D. 306-315, especially when it is noted that the posterior limit 325 is a very extreme limit (see above, p. 132) and, therefore, although the two sections of the List were drawn up on different principles as to the order in which the provinces are enumerated, there is no reason to suppose that they were originally separate independent compilations and were at some later time brought into conjunction. The Verona List reflected a provincial division of the Empire which as a whole existed only for a few years from A.D. 308 at earliest to A.D. 315. We do not know where or how the compiler collected his information, so that we cannot tell why different principles were adopted in the order of enumeration for east and west.

The changes which distinguish the picture of the provinces at the end of the first decade of the fourth century from that of the seventh and eighth decades under Valentinian I and Valens were principally due to Constantine the Great. It was he who wiped out the traces of Diocletian's name in the provinces of Egypt and of Pontus (see above pp. 130 and 133), and it was probably he too who deprived Euphratensis and Libanensis of the Augustan title with which Diocletian had honoured them. We may conjecture that it

was not very long after his victory over Licinius in A.D. 314, by which he acquired the Diocese Moesia, that he partly upset Diocletian's arrangement of the Moeso-Dacian provinces, did away with Margensis, and fixed the division which we find in the list of Festus.

§ 9. We have evidence which shows that the document was rehandled about the end of the fourth century. Under the Diocese of Pontus, as we saw, there are two additions :

- (1) Paphlagonia, *nunc in duas diuisa*,  
and (2) Armenia minor, *nunc et maior addita*.

The first refers, as Mommsen pointed out, to the creation of the province of Honorias, though it is inaccurately expressed, for Honorias was formed by combining western districts of Paphlagonia with eastern districts of Bithynia, not by mere partition. This province was created after A.D. 393, when Honorius received the title of Augustus.

The second entry points to much the same time. Armenia maior seems to be that portion of Armenia beyond the Upper Euphrates which was recognized, by the treaty of A.D. 387 between Rome and Persia, as under Roman influence, and after the death of King Arsaces about three years later was brought under direct Roman administration and placed under a military commander entitled *comes Armeniae*.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement continued till Justinian's reorganization of Armenia. The remarkable thing is that Armenia maior and the *comes Armeniae* do not appear in the Notitia Dignitatum, and it is not altogether clear how this is to be explained. It is probable that this count was independent of the Masters of Soldiers, but in any case he would, like them, have received his codicil of appointment through the office of the primicerius.<sup>2</sup> We have however a similar case in Sophanene, which appears in the List of Polemius Silvius ; like Armenia maior, it was under Imperial rule, but did not become a province proper till the reign of Justinian. The Armenia prima and secunda of the Notitia are not to be confused with Armenia maior and minor ; they are the two parts of Armenia minor into which that province was divided before A.D. 386 at latest (see *Cod. Theod.* 13, 11, 2).

The fact that both these additions concern the Pontic Diocese, and that there are no others in the List, suggested, naturally enough, the conjecture that the interpolator lived or sojourned somewhere in that Diocese.<sup>3</sup> I cannot think there is much to be said for this.

<sup>1</sup> We learn this from Procopius, *De Aed.* iii, 1, who has confounded Theodosius I and Theodosius II, so that Mommsen was misled into dating the province of Armenia Maior to A.D. 441. Cp. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (1907), p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Adonts, in his useful work *Armenia v epokhu*

*Iustiniana* (Petersburg, 1908), touches on this question (pp. 116-7), and, assuming that the date of the Notitia was A.D. 410-3 and that the *comes Armeniae* was a later institution, he finds no difficulty.

<sup>3</sup> Ohnesorge, *op. cit.* p. 14.

If the document was in the hands of some one specially acquainted with northern Asia Minor, c. A.D. 400, why did he omit to note also that Diospontus was called Helenopontus, or that Cappadocia and Armenia minor were each "nunc diuisa" into two provinces? So far as I can see, there is no clue as to the place where the List was originally drawn up<sup>1</sup> or where it was preserved.

§ 10. From the foregoing analysis it appears that the List of Verona reflects the administrative geography of the Empire as it was not many years after Diocletian's abdication, but that it cannot be considered, as for the most part it has been considered, as a record of changes introduced by Diocletian. It includes many such changes, notably the Diocesan divisions, but of the greater number of the new provinces we are not entitled to say that they were created during Diocletian's reign and not by one of the Emperors who preceded him. The regions in which we can with certainty assign provincial reforms to him or Maximian are Egypt, Oriens, Pontus, Dacia, Britain, Gaul, Africa. For Asia, Thrace, and Spain we have no evidence; while we know that the new system of the Italian provinces was due to Aurelian, that the same Emperor inaugurated the Moeso-Dacian divisions, and probably the Pannonian. Mr. Camille Jullian has the merit of having suspected long ago that some of the changes usually ascribed to Diocletian were of older date.<sup>2</sup>

§ 10. The Verona List of Dioceses and provinces closes with the words *Felix saeculum*. But immediately after come three shorter lists, viz.:

- (1) *gentes barbarae quae pullulauerunt sub imperatoribus*, an enumeration of foreign peoples who lived near the northern and eastern frontiers of the Empire;
- (2) *item gentes quae in Mauretania sunt*, list of the Moorish peoples on the southern frontier;
- (3) *nomina ciuitatum trans Renum flumen quae sunt*.

The whole series of lists concludes with *Explicit*. In (1) the names are exceedingly corrupt. They were carefully examined and commented on by Müllenhoff in Mommsen's original publication, and his commentary was reprinted in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* iv, 311, but I suspect that the List might repay a new investigation. There seems no reason to suppose that these three lists were not compiled by the same person who was responsible for the List of Provinces. There is nothing in them, so far as I can see, to suggest a later date. In any case it is to be observed that among the *gentes barbarae* the Huns do not appear, so that this List must be prior to A.D. 370.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Seeck has conjectured Gaul, on insufficient grounds.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*



## THE LATERCULUS OF POLEMIIUS SILVIUS.

§ II. Some remarks will be in place here as to the *laterculus Prouinciarius* of Polemius Silvius, to which reference has been made more than once in the foregoing pages. It was published along with a list of the Emperors (from Julius Caesar to Valentinian III) at the beginning of A.D. 449.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion reached by Mommsen that this document consists of two independent lists compiled at dates more than half a century apart; (1) that of the western provinces representing the situation in A.D. 448-9 and drawn up then by Polemius himself, and (2) that of the eastern provinces, a much older list which he incorporated without change, originally drafted about the middle of the fourth century, and here and there, but not methodically, brought up to date, so that it roughly represents the situation in A.D. 394—this conclusion has been generally accepted. I, among others, adopted it, but now it appears to me untenable.

In the names and number of the western provinces (i.e. of the Dioceses of Britain, Gaul, Italy, Spain and Africa) the list of Polemius coincides with that of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. It coincides even with the situation of a much earlier date. For no changes seem to have been made in the arrangement and divisions of the provinces of the west between A.D. 399 and 442. By A.D. 399 Liguria had been separated from Aemilia, as we find it both in the *Notitia* and in Polemius, and as it continued to be under the Ostrogoths. In A.D. 385 we meet a *consularis Aemiliae et Liguria* (*Cod. Theod.* 2, 4, 4),<sup>2</sup> but in A.D. 399, when Ravenna was transferred from Picenum to Aemilia, they are no longer joined (*C.I.L.* vi, 1715). In A.D. 442 there were changes, not made for administrative reasons, but through violence from without. The treaty of that year with Gaiseric brought the African provinces *Proconsularis*, *Numidia*, *Byzacena*, *Tripolitana* under his sovereignty, leaving to the Empire only the *Mauretania*s; and about the same time, as I think, the provinces of Britain were definitely abandoned.<sup>3</sup> Here Polemius

<sup>1</sup> The authoritative text will be found in vol. i of Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*. It is reprinted in Seeck's *Notitia Dignitatum*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *C.I.L.* x, 1125.

<sup>3</sup> To what I have said in support of this date in *J.R.S.* x, 153, I may add here that the appeal of the Britons to Aëtius in A.D. 446, recorded by Gildas, is more natural and intelligible if the evacuation occurred a few years before than if it had occurred thirty-five years before. I may add that Mr. Collingwood's article in *J.R.S.* xii, 74, *sqq.* has not shaken my belief that this date is approximately right. His contention that a date later than 410 is impossible rests mainly on coin evidence. It was known to most people that no Roman coins or hardly any (the exceptions are negligible) of later date than issues of Arcadius and early issues of

Honorius have been found in Britain, and Mr. Collingwood has performed the service of collecting and arranging this evidence as a whole. This minor premiss of his argument is unimpeachable; but the major premiss required for his conclusion implies assumptions which seem to me altogether erroneous. The historical value of the coin evidence is not that it throws any light on the evacuation—it is equally compatible with either date—but that it illustrates the fact that during the reign of Honorius the Channel became so unsafe, through the operations of the Saxon pirates, that the trade of Britain with the continent declined and presently ceased altogether. I must thank Mr. Collingwood for making it clear to me that I was quite mistaken in what I suggested as to the signal-stations on the Yorkshire coast.

is partly up to date. In his list, the western Dioceses come first (beginning with Italy), but Britain is put quite at the end after the eastern Dioceses. Mommsen was undoubtedly right in explaining this order as intended to indicate the fact that Britain was no longer a part of the Empire. This fact was familiar to Polemius, a Gallo-Roman, who lived, there seems some reason for conjecturing, in northern Gaul.<sup>1</sup> But things that happened in Africa were not familiar to him and he gives no indication that the list he gives of the African provinces is no longer up to date.<sup>2</sup> It is in fact clear enough that Polemius made no effort to inform himself as to the actual situation at the time he was compiling the list, in the west any more than in the east, in the Dioceses ruled by Valentinian III any more than in those ruled by Theodosius II; and this is also shown by the way in which he has mixed up the provinces of the Diocese of Illyricum with those of the Prefecture.

The list of the Western provinces might, in fact, date from the last decade of the fourth century just as well as from the middle of the fifth.

In the list of the provinces of the East (Thrace, Asia, Oriens, Pontus, and Egypt), Honorias is that of latest creation that is mentioned and thus supplies, as a prior limit for this part of the list, the year 394, while the inclusion of Armenia maior gives a limit not very much earlier (see above p. 147). The omissions of Galatia salutaris and Macedonia salutaris, which were probably created under the régime of Eutropius in A.D. 396-9,<sup>3</sup> hardly provides a posterior limit, in view of the fact that many much older provinces are omitted; namely Arabia, Palaestina salutaris, Phoenice Libani, Cappadocia secunda (which existed in A.D. 386), and Cilicia secunda; just as Dacia mediterranea is omitted in the enumeration of the Illyrian provinces. This shows that the eastern portion of the document was so carelessly compiled originally that no certain conclusions can be drawn from its omissions.

The list of the provinces *in Illyrico* is extraordinarily messed. The provinces of the Diocese of Illyricum, and the two Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia which constituted the Prefecture of Illyricum, are mixed up together hopelessly; and two provinces of Thrace (Haemimontus<sup>4</sup> and Scythia) are included, though they afterwards appear duly in the list of the Thracian provinces.

<sup>1</sup> My reason for this conjecture is that there are no observations on the southern provinces of Gaul, like those which occur on the northern, e.g., *Belgica prima in qua est Treveris, Belgica secunda de qua transitur ad Brittanniam*, etc. But of course these notes (and those on the other Dioceses) may have been in the List which Polemius copied and not be due to him.

<sup>2</sup> We do not know how far provincial arrangements in Spain may have been altered as a result of the barbarian invasions and wars from A.D. 409 to 429. In the latter year the peninsula was freed from most of these intruders; only the Suevians were

left in Callaecia. There is little doubt that their presence there had been regularised by the Imperial government, and it may be presumed that the contract allotted to them a *portion* of the land (as in the cases of the Visigoths and Burgundians in Gaul). If so, their settlements would not have involved the extinction of the Roman province of Callaecia.

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.S.* x, p. 135. The Silvan List places Galatia under Asia instead of Pontus.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to find Haemimontus designated by another name, *Thracia secunda*, in the place where it appears among the Thracian provinces.



There can indeed be no doubt that the man who compiled the lists of provinces east of the Hadriatic lived in the west; as Tillemont remarked, and Mommsen approved, *l'auteur de la Notice vivoit en Occident*.<sup>1</sup>

Since the eastern portion of the *laterculus* of Polemius contains no clear evidence that it was drawn up before the end of the fourth century, and the western portion nothing to show that it must have been drawn up after that time, there is no reason for accepting the theory of Mommsen that it consists of two independent lists compiled at dates more than half a century apart. The natural conclusion from the data is much simpler. The *laterculus* of Polemius is throughout a copy of a much older *laterculus* which was compiled, in the west, at a date not earlier than A.D. 394, how much later we cannot say; and the source (or sources) which this compiler had before him for the eastern provinces was very faulty. The only change Polemius made was the removal of the Britannic provinces from their original place in the List to the end of it, thereby registering a fact which had come under his own recent notice, the loss of Britain. Mommsen's theory was framed and generally accepted because it was not noticed that from A.D. 395 (and earlier) to A.D. 450 the Western government, in contrast with the Eastern, made no changes in the nomenclature or divisions of its provinces.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tillemont, *H.E.* v. 699; Mommsen, *Cbron. Min.* i, 533.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that in another work (*Brev. Temp.* in *Cbron. Min.* i, p. 547), Polemius seems to

have had a different list of Dioceses before him, for he enumerates the parts of the Empire exactly as he does in his *Laterc. Provinc.*, except that he omits Egypt. This points to a source prior to A.D. 380.



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The Notitia Dignitatum

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## THE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM.

By J. B. BURY.

§ 1. The document (or rather two documents) which has come down under the title *Notitia Dignitatum* is well known to all students who have concerned themselves, however incidentally, with the government of the Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. It sometimes strikes one that it is referred to in a way that betrays a defective realisation of what it was. Some of those who quote it appear to think that it was compiled for the purpose of giving information to the Roman public as to the organisation of the civil and military services and belongs to much the same class of work as e.g. the Synecdemus of Hierocles or the Notitia of Polemius Silvius. It was, of course, nothing of the kind, and it has been known since the days of Pancirolus precisely what it was ; but even by some who were fully aware of its character and purpose deductions have been drawn which its character and purpose exclude. For students of Roman Britain it is particularly important to have a full grasp of the general questions connected with the Notitia, since it contains a great deal of the little evidence we have for the fortunes of that country at the beginning of the fifth century.

§ 2. The *primicerius notariorum* was one of the highest officials of the second class (i.e. those who had the rank of *spectabilis*). In A.D. 381 an imperial law elevated him above the *vicarii* and placed him in the same group as the proconsuls.<sup>1</sup> The sphere of his duties is thus defined :

omnium dignitatum et amministrationum notitia tam militarium quam civilium.  
scholas et numeros tractat.<sup>2</sup>

Claudian in his Epithalamium on the marriage of Palladius and Celerina describes his duties in the following verses :

paulatim vectus ad altum  
princeps militiae qua non illustrior exstat  
altera . cunctorum tabulas assignat honorum,  
regnorum tractat numeros, constringit in unum  
sparsas imperii vires cuneosque recenset  
dispositos, quae Sarmaticis custodia ripis,  
quae saevis obiecta Getis, quae Saxona frenat  
vel Scotum legio, quantae cinxere cohortes  
oceanum, quanto pacatur milite Rhenus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Tb.* 6, 10, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Or.* xviii. *omnium* is Schonhov's correction of *omnis* ; the corresponding text in *Not. Occ.* xvi has *Notitia omnium*, but omits the words *scholas—tractat*.

<sup>3</sup> *Carm. Min.* 25, 83 sqq. The father of Celerina is the *primicerius* referred to, and he held office in the west. Cp. Birt in the index to his ed., *sub* Palladius.

The first duty of the primicerius was to prepare and issue the codicilli (*tabulae honorum*), given to every higher official, illustris, spectabilis or clarissimus, from a Praetorian Prefect or Master of Soldiers down to a provincial governor, on his appointment to his post. His second duty on which Claudian enlarges was one that in modern states devolves upon a ministry of war. He kept the complete survey of the distribution of the military forces in the provinces.

The procedure in the case of appointing the higher officials seems to have been as follows. When the emperor had made an appointment, the *chartularii* of the *sacrum cubiculum* prepared a formal brief to that effect and forwarded it to the primicerius notariorum.<sup>2</sup> The primicerius (like the quaestor) had not a regular staff (*officium*); all that the discharge of his functions required was an assistant (*adiutor*) selected from the *schola notariorum* and a number of clerks taken from that body.<sup>1</sup> In his bureau the codicil of installation was prepared. It contained the title of the functionary, an enumeration of the provinces, or military units or functionaries, as the case might be, which were under his control, the constitution of his staff if he had one, and also, painted in colours, the insignia of his office (for instance, in the case of a Master of Soldiers, the shields of all the military units under his command). For this purpose it was necessary for the primicerius to have a list of the offices he had to deal with, the details as to their functions, and model copies of the insignia which his clerks had to copy. All this was contained in the *notitia dignitatum et amministrationum*. The principal *insigne* of the primicerius himself was the *Laterculum Maius*. It is not, I think, identical with the notitia, but rather a register containing the names of the occupants of the various posts. It was called *Maius* to distinguish it from the *Laterculum Minus*, which contained the list of the lesser military officers—tribunes, praepositi, prefects—and was managed by the *scrinium memoriae* under the control of the quaestor.<sup>3</sup>

The duplication of the central ministries, in consequence of the partition of the empire, involved two primicerii, one at Rome and one at Constantinople, as independent of each other as the two quaestors or the two masters of offices. The primicerius at Rome had no regular concern with the notitia at Constantinople, and any interest he might take in it would be occasional or platonic. Changes might be made in arrangements as to dignities or offices in the east without his knowing anything about them. Hence, although originally the two notitiae were framed in unison and were, so far as possible, exactly identical in arrangement and phrasing (we do not know

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Justinian, *Nov. 24 ad fin.*, 25 *ad fin.* etc. Karlowa, *Gesch. d. röm. Rechts*, i, 991. It is not probable that *mandata principis* were issued to provincial governors in the fourth century, nor (if they were) is there any evidence that the primicerius had anything to do with them. We only know that

this practice had fallen out of use before the age of Justinian and that he revived it (*Nov. 17*).

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Or.* xviii; *Not. Occ.* xvi. They were called *laterculisii* (cp. e.g. Justinian, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Tb.* i, 8.

whether the common form goes back to Constantine), changes independently made from year to year produced a number of divergencies.

§ 3. Our Notitia Dignitatum consists of two such notitiae, one of the east and one of the west. The circumstance that both these books were preserved together in the west raises a strong probability that the lost Speier MS. which was still extant in the sixteenth century and was the parent of the existing MSS., was derived ultimately from originals at Rome (or Ravenna) belonging to the bureau of the primicerius of the west. The further conclusion suggests itself that the Notitia of the west is an actual working copy, used by the primicerius and his clerks, while that of the east is a clean copy only kept for reference; and this conclusion is borne out, as we shall see, by an examination of the documents.

So far as the text is concerned, the admirable edition of Mr. Seeck which appeared forty-five years ago is probably final unless such a very improbable thing were to occur as the discovery either of a MS. independent of the Spirensis or of an ancestor of the Spirensis. The recovery of the lost Spirensis itself would probably not throw much new light. Of the four apographs, which are independent of one another, Mr. Seeck remarks: *omnes tam diligenter descripti sunt, ut plerumque etiam in minimis rebus conspirent, et ubi dissentiunt, consensus partis maioris, id quod raro alias evenit, fere pro tradita lectione habenda est.* But we may hope that it may some day be found possible to issue an edition reproducing the coloured insignia. No one who has not seen the pictures can form an idea of what the original Notitia used by the primicerius notariorum was like, and any English student who has occasion to use these documents should look at the beautiful book in the Bodleian, one of the Canonici, which came from North Italy and was probably written by Pietro Donato (A.D. 1436).<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. It will be convenient to consider each Notitia separately before comparing them. Each is prefaced by an index of officials. The first thing to be noticed in the *Notitia Orientis* is that there are a number of inconsistencies between the Index and the sections of the book, and some among the sections themselves, chiefly regarding the order of precedence.

- (1) In the Index the primicerius notariorum precedes the castrensis; in sections xvii, xviii the order is the reverse.
- (2) In the Index the provinces of Egypt are enumerated before those of Oriens; in ii and xxii, xxiii the order is the reverse.
- (3) In the Index the dux Moesiae II precedes, in xxxix, xl he comes after, the dux Scythiae.
- (4) There is the same difference in order between the duces of Dacia ripensis and Moesia I.

<sup>1</sup> *Canon. Cat. Misc.* 378.

- (5) Galatia precedes Bithynia in Index and ii, but in xxv Bithynia comes first.
- (6) The order of the praesidial provinces of Pontica in Index differs from that in ii, and both differ from that in xxv.
- (7) Crete precedes Macedonia in Index, but comes after in iii.
- (8) The order of the praesidial provinces of Asia in Index agrees with that of ii, but differs from that of xxiv.
- (9) In the Index the Dacian provinces are six, in this order : Dacia mediterranea, Dacia ripensis, Moesia I, Praevalitana, Dardania, Macedonia salutaris. In iii they are five, in this order : Dacia m., Dacia r., Moesia I, Dardania, Praeval. et pars Maced. sal. The other portion of Maced. sal. is noted iii, 13, as added to Epirus Nova.
- (10) At the end of the Index, after the list of praesides are entered the two correctores, of Augustamnica and Paphlagonia. One would expect them to come before the praesides immediately after the consulares, because they were superior in rank to the praesides ; and so they do in *Not. Occ.* In xxv, 17, Paphlagonia has its proper place between consular and praesidial provinces ; but on the other hand in xxiii, 14, Augustamnica appears after the praesidial provinces. Further, in ii both these provinces are entirely omitted. Further, no example is given of the insignia and officium of a corrector ; one would have expected to find a section on the corrector Augustamnicæ, for instance, between xliii consularis Palaestinae and xliv praeses Thebaidos (corresponding to xliv in *Not. Occ.*).

§ 5. These discrepancies cannot all be explained as errors due to the negligence of copyists. Macedonia Salutaris (9) is a clear case of an original discrepancy, and so is the treatment of the correctors (10).

There had been *correctores* in the west since early in the fourth century ; the introduction of the title in the east was much later. We first meet the corrector of Augustamnica in A.D. 393 (*Cod. Th.* i, 9, 2 ; Jan. 12) and the corrector of Paphlagonia in A.D. 395 (*ib.* 2, 8, 22 ; July 3). Now it seems probable that the change in the status of the governor of Augustamnica was made at the time when the Egyptian provinces were reorganised and Arcadia was created. This happened later than Feb. 17, A.D. 386, as is shown by *Cod. Th.* i, 14, 1, where there are still only three provinces in Egypt proper.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore date the correctorial status of Augustamnica between A.D. 386 and 392, and conjecture that the governor of Paphlagonia received the same status about the same time.

When these changes were made, what the clerks of the primicerius seem to have done was this. They inserted the two new correctors at the end of the Index, intending that when a new Index should

<sup>1</sup> Cp. M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byz. Verwaltung Aegyptens*, pp. 8, 9.

come to be written out, this addition should be transferred to its proper place between the consulares and the praesides. They inserted Arcadia among the Egyptian provinces subject to the Praet. Praef. Or. in ii, and also in the provinces under the Praefectus Augustalis in xxiii. They ought to have prepared a new leaf showing the insignia and officium of a corrector, between xliii and xlv. But they omitted to do so, as it was not absolutely necessary because the insignia of a corrector were practically,<sup>1</sup> and the officium absolutely, identical with those of a praeses.

Here then the Index reveals that a change had been made since it was originally drafted. In the same way it preserves the order of the six Dacian provinces as they were before they were reduced to five by the division of Macedonia Salutaris. Now in the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius, which (though compiled in A.D. 449) represents, so far as the Orient is concerned, conditions prevailing in the reign of Theodosius I,<sup>2</sup> there is only one Macedonia. It may therefore be conjectured that Macedonia Salutaris was formed when Eutropius was guiding the eastern government (A.D. 396-9). For Claudian holds up to reprobation his policy of dividing provinces: *provincia quaeque superstes dividitur*. The Index preserves the transient arrangement introduced by Eutropius. Some time after his death Macedonia Salutaris was abolished, and the necessary change was made in the body of the Notitia, but the Index was left unaltered.

Galatia is probably another instance of the policy of Eutropius; only in this case it was not reversed. There is only one Galatia in Polemius Silvius,<sup>3</sup> whereas the Notitia has two, consular Galatia and Galatia Salutaris. Perhaps the discrepancy, noted above under (8), in the order of Galatia (cons.) and Bithynia may be due to an actual change in favour of Bithynia introduced at the same time.

These discrepancies not only throw light on the history of administrative changes, but also serve to indicate how the Notitia was kept by the laterculenses of the primicerius. Changes as they occurred were noted marginally or interlineally in the book. But a correction which ought to have been made in two or in three places was sometimes through carelessness made only in one or two. The Index was probably of little importance for practical use and therefore the clerks would be rather negligent in keeping it up to date. In some sections so many changes might be made in the course of a few years (for instance, in the troops under the military commanders) that the

<sup>1</sup> There was only a different lettering on the codicilli; see *Not. Occ.* xlv, xlv.

<sup>2</sup> See Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* i, p. 533.

<sup>3</sup> This writer also records only one Cappadocia, but we know from *Cod. Tb.* 13, 1, 11, that there were already two Cappadocias before A.D. 386. In

enumerating the provinces of western Illyricum (Diocese) along with those of eastern Illyricum (Prefecture) Polemius reproduces the conditions existing before A.D. 379. Then there was only one province of Dacia; in *Not. Or.* there are two Dacias, but we cannot say whether this change was due to Theodosius or to Eutropius.



accumulation of corrections necessitated the preparation of a clean copy, but this would not imply the re-copying of the whole book but only of those particular sections. Therefore a great part of the *Notitia* used in the bureau, say in A.D. 410, might have been actually written twenty or thirty years before and remained unaltered.

§ 6. A first prior limit for the date of the *Not. Or.* is given by the fact that the Prefecture of Illyricum has been transferred from the west to the east. This transference occurred just after the accession of Theodosius I in A.D. 378. This limit is brought down further by the appearance of the provinces Arcadia and Honorias, and of the military units Arcadiaci, Honoriaci, etc., named after that emperor's sons. There could be no Honoriaci before A.D. 393, when Honorius was created Augustus. But the numerous Theodosiaci and Theodosiani among the troops which are mentioned in *Not. Or.* seem to point to a still later time. For the fact that no units of Theodosian name appear in *Not. Occ.* suggests that these troops were not all formed and named by Theodosius I,<sup>1</sup> but that some of them are named after Theodosius II, having been formed either by Arcadius and named in his honour between A.D. 402 and 408, or more probably during his own reign after A.D. 408. But there is another entry which carries the date definitely further and has escaped the notice of commentators. In xvii, 8, we find in the officium of the *castrensis tabularium dominarum Augustarum*. Flaccilla the first wife of Theodosius I was an Augusta, Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius was an Augusta; but there were not two Augustae together till the days of Pulcheria and Eudocia. Eudocia was created Augusta in Jan. A.D. 423, so that this year is a prior limit for the composition of our *Notitia Orientis*. We shall find other confirmation of this limit presently. Mr. Seeck's statement that 'lässt sich im Orient keine Notiz nachweisen welche nach dem Jahre 397 fallen müsste, ja selbst was sich als Randsatz erkennen lässt,' is erroneous.<sup>2</sup>

§ 7. The *Notitia Occidentis* also exhibits a series of discrepancies between Index and sections, similar to that in the *Not. Or.*

- (1) The primicerius notarium precedes the castrensis in Index, and follows him in the section-arrangement, just as in *Not. Or.*
- (2) The vicarius Italiae who appears in Index is entirely omitted in the body of the book.
- (3) The comes Britanniarum precedes the comes litoris Saxonici in Index and in v; but the order is reversed in xxviii, xxix.
- (4) The dux Pannoniae i precedes the duces of Pannonia ii and Valeria in Index, but comes after them in xxxii—xxxiv.
- (5) The consularis Campaniae comes third among the consulares subject to the vicarius urbis Romae in Index and ii, but first in xx.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Mommsen, *Hist. Schr.* iv, 558.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Zeit des Vegetius*, *Hermes*, xi (1876), p. 72.



- (6) The order of the praesides under the same vicarius is Samnium, Valeria, Sardinia, Corsica in Index and ii, but Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, Valeria in xix.

The fact that the same discrepancy between the Index and the order of sections occurs in regard to the *castrensis* both in *Not. Or.* and in *Not. Occ.* will call for remark hereafter, but it may be pointed out that the improbability that two clerks, one at Rome and one at Constantinople, should have independently made the same slip in copying confirms the conclusion that these discrepancies cannot be put down to mere accidental error. This Index, too, undesignedly records some changes in the provincial administration, particularly in the relative importance of the Danubian provinces. On the other hand, the absence of a section on the vicar of Italy can only be explained as an error in transmission. There is no place for it in Mr. Seeck's probable reconstruction of the quaternions of the Codex Spirensis, so that it must have been lost in an ancestor of that manuscript.

§ 8. A prior limit of date for *Not. Occ.* is given at once by the *Gildoniacum patrimonium* in xii, 5, which cannot be earlier than A.D. 398-9, after the defeat of Gildo's rebellion. We have a later limit in xv, 9, 14, *tabularium dominae Augustae*, which cannot be earlier than A.D. 421, when Galla Placidia became Augusta; and yet a later one in vii, 36, where a military unit, whether legionary or auxiliary, *Placidi Valentinianici felices*, is named which cannot have been formed before A.D. 425-6 when Placidus Valentinianus was restored to his inheritance by the armies of Theodosius II and created Augustus (Oct. A.D. 425).<sup>1</sup> To this time (A.D. 425-6) the Notitia was assigned by Mommsen. Strictly, however, it is only a prior limit (see below, § 11).

§ 9. From the most cursory comparison of the two Notitiae it is evident that they have a common form and were drawn up on the same model; so evident that it has been a common and pardonable mistake that they were two parts of one document, a Notitia of the whole empire. They correspond in the order of the contents, in the arrangement of the indexes, in the arrangement of the entries under each ministry or command or governorship, and for the most part verbally. This correspondence is so close that it could not have been merely the reflexion of the similarity of the organisations of the two divisions of the empire. It can only be explained by supposing that when notitiae were originally drawn up for the use of the *primicerii* the same scheme was deliberately adopted for both.

But along with general uniformity there are important differences.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that some of the units named years of Valentinian III (cp. *Not. Occ.* vii, 47, 61, Valentinianenses were also formed in the early 71, 165).

- (1) In *Not. Or.* the number of *evectiones* to which each official had a right is noted at the end of each section by a numeral, but not in *Not. Occ.*
- (2) *Not. Occ.* has (a) a section (vii) on the distribution of the numeri of the field army, and (b) a section (xlii) on the *praepositurae* and *praefecturae* of fleets, laeti, and gentiles subject to the Master of Soldiers. There are no corresponding sections in *Not. Or.*
- (3) The details as to the officials (rationales, procuratores, praepositi) subordinate to the comes s. largitionum and to the comes rerum privatarum are much fuller in the *Not. Occ.* than in *Not. Or.*
- (4) It was observed above that no section for a corrector is given in *Not. Or.*; but in *Not. Occ.* xliv the corrector Apuliae et Calabriae is given as an example.
- (5) At the end of *Not. Or.* there are two pictures showing the exteriors of books such as are also shown in the insignia of the officials in both notitiae; there are no corresponding pictures at the end of *Not. Occ.*<sup>1</sup>

To these might be added the circumstance that in certain sections in *Not. Or.*, relating to the military commands of limes Aegypti, Thebais, Phoenice, Syria, Palestine, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Armenia, and Moesia II, troops are enumerated *quae de minore laterculo emittuntur*, and that no such troops occur in the *Not. Occ.* nor is there any mention there of the *laterculum minus*. But this difference is evidently due to a difference in organisation. In the east certain military units were excepted from the numeri with which the primicerius notariorum dealt, and placed on the *laterculum minus*, whereas there appears to have been no such units in the west. This difference does not concern the character of the Notitiae or the method of the primicerii.

In regard to (1), as the primicerius had nothing to do with the management of the cursus publicus, the only possible purpose of noting the *evectiones* in the Notitia was to enter them in the codicils which he issued to the officials. Their absence in *Not. Occ.* therefore suggests that if the practice was an old one, it was continued in the east, but was for some reason abandoned in the west.

The second difference (2) points to a different method in the eastern and western bureaux. The primicerius of the west kept his files showing the distribution of the military forces in his notitia of dignities, whereas the primicerius of the east kept his files of

<sup>1</sup> I do not include the clarissimate of the praeses in *Not. Or.* xliv, 4, and the perfectissimate of the praeses in *Not. Occ.* xlv, 4. It is pretty certain that *perfectissimi* in the latter passage is an error. The perfectissimate had probably been entirely done

away with in A.D. 412, as Hirschfeld has shown, *Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *S. B.* of the Berlin Academy, 1891, p. 592. Compare Mommsen, *Hist. Schr.* i, 558 sqq.

numeri quite separately, as belonging to another department of his work.

As to (4), enough has been already said. The last difference (5) is interesting. In each of the pictures eighteen books are shown inside a square frame with a pediment at the top and five vignettes of allegorical females, one at the top and the others at the four corners. The frames apparently represent *armaria*. These pictures are clearly ornamental, and illustrate the general difference between the two Notitiae. The *Not. Occ.* was the working copy in use at the bureau in Italy; the *Not. Or.* was a clean copy<sup>1</sup> made in the bureau of Constantinople for the special purpose of transmission to the primicerius in Italy, and some care would have been taken to make it a presentable volume. This hypothesis may account for the other difference between the two documents that was noted above (3), the curtailment in *Not. Or.* of the details as to the subordinates of the two finance ministers. As the copy was not wanted for practical use, the copyist may have considered it permissible to summarise. That an interchange of copies of the *Not. Or.* and *Not. Occ.* is probable about A.D. 426 or soon afterwards will appear in connexion with other considerations to which I may now pass.

§ 10. The first far-reaching change in organisation that affected both Notitiae alike and required a considerable revision of their arrangement was the transference of eastern Illyricum from the government of Rome to that of Constantinople in A.D. 378-9. For this purpose we may assume it to be probable that copies of the two Notitiae were exchanged between the two primicerii. We cannot point to any other occasion in the second half of the fourth century where such an exchange was necessary. The two divisions of the empire did not preserve entirely unaltered the precise similarity of the original schemes, but only in two respects were there any serious divergencies. One of these was in the organisation of the higher military commands, which was due to the policy of Theodosius I; the other was in the arrangements of financial administration, in which different circumstances dictated improvements and alterations that could not be parallel.

Now in our Notitiae the order of rank of all the dignitaries is identical, although we know that certain changes had been made in that order since A.D. 379. This implies collusion; it implies that these changes were made by common agreement or that where one government led the way the other followed. Three such cases are known to us.

<sup>1</sup> The inconsistencies noted above, §4, show indeed that it was not meticulously corrected. There is only one case of the inadvertent inclusion of a name which had been corrected in the margin xl. 48; and in the same place the troops of the *laterculum minus*, 44-49, ought to have been trans-

ferred immediately after 36, so as to precede the officium (as in other sections). Some small inconsistencies, pointed out by Mr. Seeck, *op. cit.* p. 73, have also been allowed to remain in xxxix and xlii.

The *first* is that of the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, whose section in both Notitiae is lost. Under Theodosius the Great, the *praepositus* belonged to the first class of dignitaries, as is shown by a law of A.D. 384.<sup>1</sup> It has been supposed that it was the influence of Eutropius, the powerful Grand Chamberlain who governed Arcadius for three and a half years (A.D. 396-9), that raised his own office to rank (as he ranks in both Notitiae) immediately after the Prefects and Masters of Soldiers in order of precedence. There is, however, no proof of this, and if it were true, it was a lead which would certainly not have been followed in the west, but bitterly censured. On the contrary, we find in A.D. 414 that the *praepositus* ranks below the *comes s. largitionum* at Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> It was not till A.D. 422 that Theodosius II raised the Grand Chamberlain to the higher place, and he explained that this promotion was prompted by the deserts of the *praepositus* Macrobius: *nos ad hanc promulgationem Macrobi viri inl. merito provocarunt.*<sup>3</sup>

The *second* case is that of the Master of Offices. In the reign of Theodosius I and before, the Quaestor had precedence of the Master of Offices,<sup>4</sup> and the same order prevailed in A.D. 438 when the Codex Theodosianus was issued and probably for a year or two before,<sup>5</sup> and afterwards this order was permanent.<sup>6</sup> But in both our Notitiae the Master of Offices comes before the Quaestor. This reversal of order must have been therefore temporary, and it is easy to divine that the change was made for the sake of a particular individual, as in the case of the *praepositus* Macrobius. We may therefore conjecture as highly probable that the promotion of the Master of Offices to take rank above the Quaestor was a recognition of the merits of Helio and is to be referred to much the same time as the promotion of the *praepositus*. Helio had an exceptionally long tenure of the post. He held it before the end of A.D. 414—how long we do not know, but his last known predecessor was Aemilianus in A.D. 405. He can be traced through the following years till the summer of A.D. 427<sup>7</sup>; in A.D. 426 he is a Patrician. The confidence which the emperor placed in him is shown by the fact that he was deputed to take the place of Theodosius in the ceremony of creating Valentinian a Caesar at Thessalonica, to accompany Placidia and her son to Italy, and finally, as Theodosius was unable to travel to Rome in the autumn of 425, to represent him at the coronation of Valentinian as Augustus. Here, then, I have no doubt, the Notitiae contain the record of a temporary measure for the benefit of this distinguished and trusted minister.

These two cases have been commented on before. Mommsen

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Tb.* 7, 8, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 11, 28, 9, in the note as to sending copies of the law to certain officials.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 6, 8, 1.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 372, *ib.* 6, 9, 1; A.D. 380, *ib.* 2.

<sup>5</sup> Because in *Cod. Tb.* 1 the title 8 on the quaestor precedes title 9 on the mag. off.

<sup>6</sup> *Cod. J.* 1, 30 and 31.

<sup>7</sup> See Mommsen's ed. of *Cod. Tb.* vol. i, p. clxxxvii. Before Feb. 22, 430, Helio was replaced, *Cod. Tb.* 7, 8, 15.

recognised the temporary character of the higher rank of the Master of Offices, but did not account for it. On the *third* case which has escaped attention I have already touched. It is that of the *castrensis* and *primicerius notariorum*. That a change was made in their relative positions in the scale of precedence is deducible from the discrepancy between the Indexes where the *primicerius* comes first, and the order of the sections where the *castrensis* precedes. A possible reason has occurred to me. The tyrant John, who seized power after the death of Honorius and was put to death by Placidia in the summer of A.D. 425, was *primicerius notariorum* in Rome at the time of his elevation; and it is therefore conceivable that the slight degradation of the office which John had held was resolved on for the purpose of indicating that the office had been disgraced. This seems worth mentioning as a conjecture, but it is more probable that the change recognised the services of some unknown *castrensis*.

Whatever may be the date and circumstances of the third change, the fact that all three changes were adopted in the west as well as in the east shows that the two governments acted together in matters of this kind some time after A.D. 422, and therefore obviously not before A.D. 425-6 when Theodosius II, having restored Placidia and her son, was taking an active interest in western affairs and was adopting a policy of restoring the real unity of the empire and promoting close co-operation between east and west. The principal expression of the new unity was to be the Codex Theodosianus which was already being taken in hand. The assimilation so far as possible between the two civil services was to be maintained, and the higher rank which had been bestowed on the *Praepositus sacri cubiculi* and the *Magister officiorum* of the east was imposed on the west.

All this is quite in accordance with the conclusion that our *Notitia Orientis* is derived from a copy sent from Constantinople to Italy in or soon after A.D. 426, and was therefore at that time up to date.

§ 11. The prior limit for the *Not. Occ.* can be fixed to a year later. This follows from Mr. Seeck's sagacious exploration of the sections on the Danubian provinces.<sup>1</sup> The two eastern Pannonian provinces, Pannonia II and Valeria, had been for a long time in the power of the Huns. They were recovered in A.D. 427,<sup>2</sup> and a re-organisation ensued which involved the building and restoring of fortresses<sup>3</sup> and the establishment of garrisons. This work is reflected in sections xxii (*dux Pannoniae II*) and xxxiii (*dux Valeriae*) of *Not. Occ.* For the details I need merely refer to Mr. Seeck's article. The earliest year possible for our copy of *Not. Occ.* is thus A.D. 427-8.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 71 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus, *Cbron. sub. a.*

<sup>3</sup> This activity is referred to by Vegetius in *De re Militari*. Mr. Seeck has made it probable that those were right who, like Gibbon, saw Valentinian III in the emperor of Vegetius.

<sup>4</sup> No arrangement had yet been made for the civil government of Valeria; the province does not appear in section ii, nor a praeses in the Index. Probably it was left temporarily under the military rule of the dux.

A posterior limit is given (1) by the fact that Dalmatia still belongs to the west. It was probably transferred to the east on the occasion of the imperial marriage in A.D. 437; it was the consideration Placidia had to promise her nephew Theodosius for restoring and protecting her son, but apparently she was able to bargain that the price should not be paid till the marriage arranged between their children Valentinian and Licinia Eudoxia was actually celebrated. (2) By the treaty between Gaiseric and Valentinian in A.D. 435 the Mauretanian provinces passed to the Vandals, and this meant that the *dux et praeses* *Mauretaniae Caesariensis* and the *praeses* *Mauretaniae Sitifensis* ceased to function. These provinces might, of course, though surrendered by treaty, have been retained in the list, as official optimism would have counted on their eventual recovery; so that their appearance in our *Not. Occ.* is not demonstrative like the appearance of Dalmatia. But (3) there is a piece of evidence which suggests that the posterior limit is very close to the prior limit at which we arrived. In the Pannonian sections (xxxiii, 59-65 and xxxiv, 29, 30, 44-46) we find a number of unnamed cohorts and one unnamed legion; the units apparently had been formed but had not yet received their titles, or else it had been decided that so many units should be sent, but they had not yet been chosen. This suggests the inference that the copy was being made just at the time when Pannonia was in the process of being organised, and that would have been in A.D. 428.

§ 12. In this paper I do not propose to discuss the insignia, connected with which there are several difficulties that have still to be cleared up. It does not seem very likely that a minute study of them will yield information bearing on the dates of the documents. But attention may be called to one feature. In the insignia of the dignitaries of illustrious rank there is a tabula or frame resting on a table with a head portrayed in the centre. This also appears in insignia of two *spectabiles*,<sup>1</sup> the *comes orientis* and the *praefectus augustalis*. In *Not. Or.* the head is depicted in every case except that of the *comes r. priv.*, where the central space is blank; but in the case of the first *magister mil. praesentalis* there are two heads. In *Not. Occ.* the space is blank for the *quaestor*, the *comes s. larg.*, and the *comites domesticorum*; but the *magister officiorum* has two heads. The faces are all different. All are smooth-shaven, except in the case of the *magister mil. per orientem*, where it is bearded. Some are full-faced, others side-faced. The heads are uncovered and

<sup>1</sup> The other *spectabiles* (except the *proconsuls* and *consulares*) have, instead, volumes with various inscriptions on the covers, which present great difficulty. Eight different inscriptions can be distinguished. In the most important of these (which appears in the insignia of the *castrensis*, *primicerius notariorum*, *magistri scrin.*, *vicarii*, *comites* and *duces*), FL|INTALL|COMORD|

PR Böcking (*Not. Dig.* ii, 528, n. 9) rejects the most obvious explanation of the last words, *comes ordinis primi*, on insufficient grounds. The true reason for rejecting it—on the assumption that the inscription designates the rank of the particular official—is that it appears in the insignia of the simple *duces* and they were not *comites ordinis primi*.



unadorned, except in the cases of the second magister mil. praesentalis in the east, where a cap is worn, and of the magister mil. per Illyricum, where a young face with long hair is adorned with a diadem. That these heads represent the emperor was assumed by Pancirolus, and the one instance of a diadem, and the two instances of a double head, confirm the assumption. But a methodical investigation, based on a new examination of the MSS., is obviously needed.

§ 13. It was stated above that the original of our *Not. Occ.* was an actual working copy used in the bureau of the primicerius. The evidence for this may now be considered. We find a number of corrections as to the stations of troops. The fort to which a unit was transferred was added in the margin, and the name of the fort in which it had been stationed was not erased, and so both names appear in the text; sometimes the new station is distinguished by a *nunc*. These notes of change occur principally in the sections on the Danubian provinces, xxxiii-xxxv, and have been elucidated by Mr. Seeck.

But the most important evidence consists in the differences between section vii and sections v and vi. Section vii gives the list of the field forces, both foot and horse, and shows their distribution. All these forces were under the supreme command of the two Masters of Soldiers, whose headquarters were in Italy; and therefore if the Notitia, as we have it, had undergone no changes after it was drawn up c. A.D. 428, the military units enumerated in v as under the command of the Magister peditum and in vi as under the command of the Magister equitum should correspond exactly to the units enumerated in vii. But this is not the case. A comparison is made easy by the cross-references in Mr. Seeck's edition.

A. In v there are five units (183, 207, 217, 261, 262) and in vi two (75, 85) which do not appear in vii.

B. But there are many more troops in vii which we do not find in v and vi.

*Infantry.*  
Gaul: 10 (viz. 73, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
101, 107, 108, 109, 110).  
Italy: 2 (viz. 17, 36).  
Illyricum: 1 (viz. 62).  
Britain: 1 (viz. 155).  
Gaul or Illyricum: 1 (viz. 61 or 71).<sup>1</sup>

*Cavalry.*  
Britain: 4 or 5 (viz. 200, 201, 203-5).<sup>2</sup>

The *distributio numerorum*, therefore, includes changes and new formations which were made after the lists in v and vi had been drawn up; these alterations were not entered under v and vi. It also records some important innovations in the military organisation.

<sup>1</sup> *Valentinianenses*, to one of which *Valentinianenses iuniores*, 11, v. 190, will correspond.

<sup>2</sup> 203 *equites stablesiani*. It might be conjectured that in vi < *equites stablesiani Britannici* > fell out after 82 *equites st. Italici*. It is probable enough

that 204 *equites Taifali* may be the same as vi, 59, *equit. Honoriani Taifali iuniores*, but these may possibly be identical with vii, 172, *equit. Hon. iun.* who were in Gaul.



The duces and the comites (i.e. comites et duces) who defended the frontier provinces both in the east and in the west were in command of *limitanei*, not of *comitatenses*; and the units of the *limitanei* are given in the *Notitiae* with their respective stations, in the section of each dux. But in the fifth century a new class of comites appears in the west. The comes Italiae, the comes Argentoratensis, and the comes Britanniarum, each of whom has his section in *Not. Occ.*, were not like the old duces commanders of *limitanei*; they commanded mobile forces which could bring relief to any threatened point. There is no sign, and no reason to suppose, that they existed in the fourth century. The geographical sphere of the comes Italiae was the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* (*Not. Occ.* xxiv); that is, he had to look to the defence of the passes in northern Italy,<sup>1</sup> in case the advanced posts in Raetia and Noricum were carried by an enemy. Since the invasions of Alaric and Radagaisus the protection of the peninsula was a pressing problem, and the institution of the comes Italiae may have been a part of the government's scheme for solving it. The comes Argentoratensis had his field of operations in the *tractus Argentoratensis* (Alsace). The defence of Gaul was also a problem of which the terms had been changed since the great barbarian invasion of A.D. 407. After the suppression of the Gallic tyrants, first Constantine, and then Jovinus, the general Constantius had to address himself to the work of organising the military defences of the empire. It appears to me that the creation of these new permanent commanders of field forces, including the comes Britanniarum (who will be more particularly considered later), may probably be ascribed to him.<sup>2</sup> We know that part of that statesman's work, in the second decade of the fifth century, was the restoration of order in north-western Gaul. We have no knowledge when the dux tractus Armoricanus was first created, but we may conjecture that at this time his sphere was extended along the Aquitanian coast in order to protect it against Saxon pirates. The extent of the command is specially noted in xxxvii, 24-29. At all events the three comites in question were in being before A.D. 428 (*Not. Occ.* xxiv, xxvii, xxix).

At the same time other commanders of field forces had been appointed during the reign of Honorius to meet the emergencies of the time, but without the intention of making these commands permanent institutions. In A.D. 408 Genseridus was entrusted with a command including the diocese of Illyricum (Dalmatia and Pannonia) and the transalpine provinces of the diocese of Italy (Noricum, Raetia), with the title apparently of Master of Soldiers.<sup>3</sup> And in A.D. 419 we find Asterius commanding in Spain, as *His-*

<sup>1</sup> Mountain peaks are outlined in his insignia.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence for a comes Britanniarum in the fourth century. Theodosius, the emperor's father, had the rank of comes when he was sent to Britain in 369, but he did not take the place of

any one else, nor is there anything to show that he was succeeded by a comes permanently stationed there. In consequence of his success he received the post of a *magister equitum*.

<sup>3</sup> *στρατηγός*, Zosimus, v, 46, 2.

*paniarum comes*. Both the commands may have continued (perhaps intermittently) till A.D. 428, but it was not contemplated to make them permanent parts of the military organisation (and the persons appointed might have either the title of comes or of magister militum, just as in the fourth century when we find Aequitius as comes given the command in Illyricum, and afterwards receiving the higher title of Master of Soldiers<sup>1</sup>), for in that year, unlike the comes Britanniarum etc., they have no separate sections, with *insignia* and *officia*, in the *Not. Occ.* and are mentioned only in vii.

It appears to be generally assumed that the post of *Magister equitum per Gallias* was a regular and standing institution before the end of the fourth century. There is no good evidence for this assumption. The Jacobus *magister equitum* to whom Claudian addressed a poem<sup>2</sup> in the late months of A.D. 401 was evidently the *magister equitum praesentalis*,<sup>3</sup> who was left to protect north Italy while Stilicho was absent in Raetia fighting with Radagaisus. Nor is there any reason to suppose that it was not the same post which was held by Gaudentius the father of Aetius,<sup>4</sup> although he happened to have been killed in Gaul,<sup>5</sup> and in A.D. 423 by Crispinus.<sup>6</sup>

The first Master of Soldiers mentioned in literary sources who was almost certainly *mag. eq. per Gall.* was Aetius, who was raised to this rank in A.D. 429,<sup>7</sup> and the post was evidently created to satisfy that ambitious commander, who had been defending Gaul during the past few years and was feared by Placidia and Felix the *magister utriusque militiae* whom he succeeded not without violence in the following year.

Now this evidence happens to agree remarkably with the indications of *Not. Occ.* If the *magisterium equitum per Gallias* was an institution of long standing, it is impossible to explain the fact that the sections of the two *magistri praesentales* are not followed by a section for the *vir inlustris magister equitum per Gallias* with his insignia and officium, and the troops under his command. What we do find is the troops of the Gallic *mag. eq.* enumerated in section vii, like those of the comes Hispaniarum and the comes Illyrici. But there is a difference. In the middle of this section, where it has no business to be, we find the officium of the *mag. eq.*

<sup>1</sup> Ammian, 26, 5, 3; 28, 6, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Carm. Min.* 50.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen held that from the time of the supremacy of Arbogastes and throughout the fifth century, the two masterships in praesenti were combined (under the title *Mag. utriusque mil.*), *Hist. Schr.* i, 556. This view is certainly wrong. It is refuted by the Notitia, and it is quite clearly untrue of the later part of the reign of Valentinian III when we have the clearest evidence for two *magistri*, both of whom have the title *mag. u. m.*

<sup>4</sup> Renatus Prof. Frig. in Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.* ii, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Gall.* 100, p. 658 (*Chron. Min.* vol. i).

<sup>6</sup> *Cod. Theod.* ii, 23, 1. It is quite arbitrary to alter Crispino to Castino.

<sup>7</sup> Prosper, *Chron. sub a.*, Aetius *magister militum factus est*, interpreted, rightly as I think, by Mommsen (*ib.* 535). In the previous year Aetius had only the title comes. In the Life of St. Hilary of Arles we read of an *inlustris Cassius qui tunc* (A.D. 429) *praecerat militibus* (c. 6, in Migne, *P.G.* 50, col. 1227) and evidently stationed at Arles. *Inlustris* might suggest that he was a *mag. mil.* but that seems highly improbable. He is otherwise unknown.

*per G.* It is easy to conjecture what happened. It was decided at this time (A.D. 428-9) to establish a permanent commander of the field forces in Gaul, with the highest rank. His officium was duly drawn up in the bureau of the primicerius and was provisionally inserted after the troops under his command, but the preparation of the insignia was postponed and never executed so long as this particular book was in use. Thus the negligence of the clerks of the primicerius enables us to detect the date of the creation of this post.

§ 14. If we examine the distribution of the field forces, as given in vii, we find that it corresponds to the situation of the empire in the years 428-437. The numbers are as follows :<sup>1</sup>

Italy : 37 units of infantry, 7 units of cavalry. Total, 30,000.

Illyricum : 22 units of infantry. Total, 16,000.

Gaul : 47 units of infantry, 12 units of cavalry. Total, 45,000.

Spain : 16 units of infantry. Total, 10,500.

Tingitania : 4 units of infantry, 3 units of cavalry. Total, 4,500.

Africa : 12 units of infantry, 19 units of cavalry. Total, 21,000.

Britain : 3 units of infantry, 6 units of cavalry. Total, 5,500.

The growth of the power of the Huns, which was a constant menace on the middle Danube frontier, is sufficient to account for the presence of a considerable field army in Illyricum under the newly-appointed commander, the comes Illyrici. In Gaul a large army was now needed, not only to reinforce the limitanei of Germania I and Belgica II (where the Salian Franks under Clodio were seeking to extend their territory), and Armorica, at any point, but also in the interior where continuous vigilance was required, and fighting was almost incessant, to keep in check the encroachments of Visigoths and Burgundians. Ever since its invasion by the Vandals and other barbarians in A.D. 409 we might expect to find armies in Spain which till then had been an un-military diocese. From A.D. 428 onwards, when the Vandals were threatening Tingitania, then conquering and occupying the Mauretaniae, field armies were naturally despatched to Africa, to serve under the comes Tingitaniae and the comes Africae.

This army list has been generally interpreted by historians as supplying figures for the military strength of the empire at the end of the fourth century. What it really supplies is data for estimating the size of the armies of Valentinian III at the end of the third decade of the fifth century. The total number appears to be just 132,000.

§ 15. The Notitia of A.D. 428 represents Britain as still a diocese of the empire, under the civil government of the vicarius, with its five provinces under two consulars and three praesides, and still defended by Roman troops, (1) limitanei under (a) the count of the

<sup>1</sup> Taking the strength of the legion as 1,000, of the auxiliary cohort and the vexillatio as 500 each.

Of course, some of the units may not have been up to full strength.

Saxon shore, in the south-east, (b) the duke of the Britains, in the north, and (2) a field army under the count of the Britains. It has been usual in recent years to reject this evidence on the ground that it is incompatible with the literary evidence which has been held to prove that Britain had been entirely abandoned by the Roman government twenty years earlier. Mommsen maintained that the picture of the Britannic armies presented in *Not. Occ.* corresponds to the pre-Constantinian organisation and would have been actual in a Notitia of A.D. 300, but was quite obsolete in a Notitia of A.D. 400 or later<sup>1</sup>; and concluded that whoever compiled *Not. Occ.*, having no information relating to contemporary Britain which had passed out of the control of Rome but was still theoretically recognised as a part of the empire, had recourse to an ancient list more than a hundred years old in order to fill in the military units. This view has been very widely accepted, and is certainly erroneous.

The argument on which it is based does not apply to all the Britannic sections. It does not apply to xxviii, the section on the Saxon shore. The Saxons, who had begun to raid the British coasts before the end of the third century, did not become a serious menace before the middle of the fourth, and of the forces which are enumerated here only two units, the old legio II Augusta, which had been in Britain since its conquest, and the cohors I Baetasiarum, are found in inscriptions of the second or third century. Nor does it apply to the field forces of the comes Britanniarum, under whose command we find a vexillation of equites Honoriani (vii, 202), which cannot have existed before the end of the fourth century. Nor yet to the limitanei in Yorkshire, all of which, with the exception of a detachment of legio VI victrix (xl, 18), are so far as we know later than the third century. In fact, Mommsen's argument, if it were valid, would apply solely to the troops *per lineam valli* in xl.

There, 23 stations and 23 units are named, and all the units with three exceptions can be shown to have been in Britain, by the evidence of inscriptions, since the second or third century.<sup>2</sup> The three exceptions for which there is no epigraphic evidence are 34 cohors I Cornoviorum at Newcastle, which seems to have been a cohort of native British; 53 ala I Herculea at Olenacum, whose name testifies that it was formed in the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, and 47 Mauri Aureliani, whose name points to their creation by Aurelian. The general military policy had been to keep the same troop formations there from the time of Hadrian onwards, and there is no evidence to show that this policy was radically changed by

<sup>1</sup> See *Historische Schriften*, iii, 214, n. 2: 'die britannischen Abschnitte der Notitia gehören der vordiokletianischen Epoche'; *ib.* 117, they belong 'der vorconstantinischen Militärordnung.' Mommsen's theory has been accepted, e.g. by Mr. Sagot in *La Bretagne romaine* (1911), p. 230, and Mr. Grosse

in *Römische Militärgeschichte* (1920), p. 28. It is rejected by Sir C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (1910), p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> For the cohort I or II Asturum (xl, 42) and the ala Sabiniana (xl, 37) cf. Mr. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, p. 147.

Constantine or that the old formations which defended the Wall were broken up so long as the Wall continued to be defended at all.

That a primicerius notariorum of the fifth century unearthed old documents of the beginning of the fourth century, lists which had long ago ceased to have any actuality, and inserted them in a register which was intended purely for use in his office, is a theory which is not very plausible. In fact it is incredible. It is a procedure which might have been adopted by Hierocles or George of Cyprus; but the interest of the primicerius in his Notitia was not antiquarian. And it is quite from the purpose to suggest, as has been suggested, that the object was to disguise the loss of Britain. Disguise it from whom? From the *notarii*?

Archaeological evidence—that is, inscriptions and coins—does not enable us to determine the date at which the Wall was abandoned as a military frontier. Towards the end of the fourth century, inscriptions in all parts of Britain (and not only in Britain) are rarer, and at the same time the issue of copper from western mints is very scanty. We have to take this into account in considering the import of the fact that, so far, the camps and mile-castles of the Wall furnish no evidence of occupation after the rebellion of Maximus.<sup>1</sup> The legitimate inference is merely negative, namely, that the abandonment of the Wall at that time is compatible with the archaeological facts, but a late date is not excluded. In other words, while archaeology does not support the view that the Wall was held after A.D. 395, 'it gives equally little support,' as Mr. Haverfield observed in reviewing an able article of Mr. Craster, 'to the theory that it was not held after 395.'<sup>2</sup>

§ 16. Leaving aside for the moment the *linea valli*, the evidence in the Notitia is quite clear that Britain as a whole was still held by the empire in A.D. 428. Apart from the Wall, systems of military defence had been organised in the south-east from the Wash to Portsmouth under the comes litoris Saxonici, and on the east from the Tees to the Humber or the Wash under the dux Britanniarum; and the defence was further provided for by mobile forces under the comes Britanniarum. These forces consisted soon after A.D. 428 of three infantry units, the Victores iuniores Britannici (probably auxilia), the Primani iuniores and the Secundani iuniores<sup>3</sup> (both legions), which seem to have been new formations, and six vexillations of cavalry of which one at least, the equites Honoriani seniores, was in existence before A.D. 424, and at least three (eq. Catafractarii iun., eq. scutarii Aureliaci, and eq. Syri) were later than A.D. 428, while it is uncertain whether the eq. stabilesiani and the eq. Taifali were old or new.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Craster's study of 'The Last Days of the Roman Wall' in *Archaeological Journal*, lxi, 25 sqq. 1914.

<sup>2</sup> 'Roman Britain in 1914' (*Supp. Papers*, iii, of the British Academy, 1915), p. 40. In the same

way the archaeological evidence is consistent with the destruction of Calleva about A.D. 420, but does not disprove its survival till a later year.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably a detachment of legio II Augusta.

Such being the military establishment in Britain at the time when the patrician Felix was the head of the armies of the west, when Aetius was defending Gaul, and Gaiseric was conquering Africa, the existence of the civil government is a matter of course—the vicar at the head of the diocese, the two consulares governing Valentia and Flavia, and the three praesides governing Britannia I and II and Maxima.

§ 17. Inferences, however, of this kind from the Notitia are held to be quite inconsistent with the literary evidence. Even Mr. Haverfield, who is more cautious in his statements than other writers as to the end of Roman rule in Britain, says, for instance: 'It is agreed that these chapters (*Not. Occ.* xxviii and xl) do not exhibit the garrison of Britain at the moment when the Notitia was substantially completed, about A.D. 425, for the good reason that there was then no garrison left in the island.'<sup>1</sup> The literary evidence is notoriously scanty and fragmentary, and it does not appear to me to lead to the conclusion which is generally accepted as unquestionable, that Britain was finally abandoned in the first decade of the fifth century.

When Italy was menaced by the invasion of the Visigoths in A.D. 401-2 troops were moved from Gaul and Britain to reinforce the army in Italy. The Britannic contingent is described by Claudian as *legio praetenta Britannis quae Scotto dat frena truci*.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Haverfield observed that this *legio* 'is not necessarily legionary,'<sup>3</sup> as *legio* might be used poetically for any unit of foot soldiers; but, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, the presumption is that a legion, not a cohort, was meant. It was evidently stationed somewhere in the west, as it guarded against invaders from Ireland. We are not told whether Stilicho sent it back to Britain after the battle of Verona in A.D. 403. Probably not; since the menace from Alaric was not over, and, if it was not sent back in A.D. 404, it is not likely that it was sent back by Stilicho, for then came the invasion of Radagaisus, A.D. 405-6, and in A.D. 406 the Britannic armies revolted. It would have been bad policy to restore to Britain at that moment troops which were associated with it and would have been likely to make common cause with the rebels. In A.D. 407 the tyrant Constantine, following the example of Maximus, crossed over to Gaul. As to the size of the army which accompanied him we have no information. Modern historians<sup>4</sup> have generally assumed that all the Roman troops

<sup>1</sup> See also his *Romanization of Roman Britain* (ed. 3, 1915), p. 80: 'After 407 the Romanized area was cut off from Rome.'

<sup>2</sup> *Bell. Got.* 416.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, i, p. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Haverfield (*ib.*) explains the assumed 'departure of Romans' after 406-7 as meaning, not a great departure of persons, but that the central

government ceased to send 'the usual governors and other high officials and to organize the supply of troops.' If the Caesar Carausius of the Richborough coin published by Sir Arthur Evans (*Num. Chron.* vii, 191, 1887) was, as he suggested, a colleague of Constantine, this would support the probability that Constantine did not propose to let Britain slip from his hand.



in Britain crossed the channel and never recrossed it. The assumption that he entirely denuded the island of military forces and left it defenceless against Saxons, Picts, and Scots, is merely an assumption and an improbable one. There is no likelihood that he proposed to make an empire for himself which did not include Britain or that he was ready to let the island slip from his grasp. Before he left its shores he must have sent agents to sound some of the regiments in Gaul and prepare the path for his occupation of the Gallic provinces; the invasion of the barbarians from beyond the Rhine who in A.D. 407 were devastating north-eastern Gaul facilitated and appeared to justify his enterprise; he might have gone without taking all the Britannic troops. The probability would seem to be that, leaving some troops in Britain on the main lines of defence, he was at first able to maintain his authority in the island from his headquarters in Gaul.

But it is easy to understand that as his difficulties in Gaul increased and his plans extended into Spain he could spare little attention to Britain, and in A.D. 408-9 the power of his government there was shaken by a rebellion. The notice we possess of this movement comes probably from the contemporary Greek historian Olympiodorus, who was unusually well-informed about affairs in the west, and is preserved by Zosimus,<sup>1</sup> who states that invasions of the barbarians beyond the Rhine forced the inhabitants of Britain and some of the Celts in Gaul to revolt:

*τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἀποστῆναι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ βιοτεύειν οὐκέτι τοῖς τούτων ὑπακούοντα νόμοις, οἳ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς Βρετανίας ὄπλα ἐνδύντες καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν προκινδυνεύσαντες ἡλευθέρωσαν τῶν ἐπικειμένων βαρβάρων τὰς πόλεις,*

and that Armorica and other provinces of Gaul imitated the Britons expelling the Roman governors. The barbarians in this context must refer to the Saxons, and the inference evidently is that as the troops in Britain were insufficient against the Saxon raiders, the people, in some parts of the island at all events, disregarding the Roman authorities, took the defence and administration into their own hands. But the movement was a revolt against Constantine, and the notice is important as showing that Imperial authority, that is, his authority, was still represented in Britain after he had left the island.

News of what had happened reached Ravenna, and the government there took advantage of it in the interest of the legitimate emperor. In the course of A.D. 409 Honorius despatched a message to Britain authorising the cities to take measures for their own defence,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> vi, 5, 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 10, 'Ὁνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βοετανίᾳ χρησαμένους πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι

*παραγγέλλουσι.* Gibbon dated the end of Roman government in Britain not to the departure of Constantine but to this rebellion (chap. xxxi). Of



thus legalising their rebellion against the authorities which represented Constantine. It was an interim measure evidently, designed to further the eventual re-establishment of his own rule in Britain when he had overcome the usurper.

In view of this concern of Honorius for Britain, there is no *a priori* reason for supposing that, when the tyrants had been suppressed in Gaul, and it was possible for the energetic Master of Soldiers, Constantius, in whose hands the conduct of the empire rested, to reorganise the defence of western Europe, Britain was not included in the reorganisation. The evidence of the Notitia supplies the proof that it was. I hazarded the conjecture (above, § 13) that Constantius introduced the new policy of permanent commanders of field forces in some regions hitherto defended only by limitanei, the comes Italiae, the comes Argentoratensis, and the comes Britanniarum.

Whether it was at this time, or earlier in the time of Stilicho as Mr. Craster believes, that the defences of Yorkshire under the dux Britanniarum were organised, cannot, I think, be determined with certainty. For the whole reign of Honorius there are only two inscriptions that give any information as to Roman activity. *Hon. Aug.* on tiles used to repair the fort of Anderida may be early or late in the reign, but the inscription recording that the signal station on the summit of Peak on the Yorkshire coast was built by Justinian is presumably to be placed in the first years of the century, inasmuch as Justinian was the name of an officer who accompanied Constantine to Gaul.<sup>1</sup> This, so far as it goes, is in favour of Mr. Craster's view.

But if Stilicho was the author of the defensive system in Yorkshire,<sup>2</sup> that system still existed in A.D. 428. There is no reason for suspecting the evidence of the Notitia. The only possible stumbling-block is the first entry under the disposition of the duke, *praefectus legionis sextae*, where as Mr. Seeck pointed out, the words *victricis, Eburaci* have fallen out of the text. Now Mr. Craster thinks that the sixth legion was that which went to Italy in A.D. 402.<sup>3</sup> I am inclined to agree with him, and I am also inclined to think that it never returned. But it would not follow that the Notitia is here reproducing an item from a list which was obsolete after A.D. 402. For the sixth legion

a Saxon invasion at this period we have a record in the *Chronica Gallica* (*Chron. Min.* ed. Mommsen, i, p. 654): *Britanniae Saxonum incursione devastatae* in the sixteenth year of Honorius, i.e. A.D. 410. But we cannot depend on the accuracy of the dates in this chronicle to a year. The death of Arcadius, e.g. is entered under xii instead of xiv. That of Honorius comes in the thirty-second instead of the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and some of the other dates are three years wrong. (Possibly there was a confusion between 395, and the year of Honorius's creation as Augustus in 393.) The true date of the

invasion may thus be two or three years earlier, 408 or 407, or it may be later.

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* vii, 268. See A. J. Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887, p. 208 and cp. Haverfield, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, ix, p. 561. For Justinian, see Olympiodorus, *fr.* 12 (Ἰουστινιανόν for Ἰουστινιανόν), the source of Zosimus, vi, 2.

<sup>2</sup> That he was responsible for fortifying some of the defences of Britain we know from Claudian, *de cons. Stil.* ii, 250-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 42.

might be simultaneously in Italy and in Britain. *Sexta victrix* had been in Britain since the reign of Hadrian; it was one of the old pre-Constantinian legions, which after Constantine's reform of the army had the capacity of being in several places at once. Take *Quinta Macedonica*. It was at the same time in four different stations in *Dacia Ripensis* (*Not. Or.* xlii, 31-33, 39) and also at Memphis (*ib.* xxviii. 14). The old legions of 6,000 were broken up into detachments of 1,000, but each detachment retained the name of the legion. *Sexta victrix* may therefore have left a station in the west of Britain in A.D. 402, and left it for ever, and yet *Sexta victrix* may have been the garrison of York in A.D. 428.

The same consideration applies to *Secunda augusta*. It has been observed by Mr. Craster that it accompanied Constantine to Gaul, because we find it there later; it remained there and became a *legio comitatensis*.<sup>1</sup> But this is quite compatible with the simultaneous existence of *Secunda augusta* as a *legio limitanea* in Britain. The legion had been in the island since the first conquest, and at many places, among others Caerleon; there was still a detachment of it at Richborough in A.D. 428, serving under the Count of the Saxon Shore, and probably another under the comes *Britanniae*.<sup>2</sup>

§ 18. The certainty that Britain remained under Roman rule into the thirties of the fifth century under the regency of the Augusta Placidia may make us hesitate to leap hastily to the conclusion that the sub-section of xl, *per lineam valli*, was obsolete in A.D. 428. Archaeological discoveries may yet make it certain or probable that the line of the Wall was abandoned in the reign of Honorius; and in that case the sub-section in question must have been copied from the immediately preceding *Notitia* by an error, and represent the actual organisation of the defence of the Wall at the time the Wall was abandoned. There is an internal argument in favour of this view. The *castella per lineam valli* do not appear in the insignia of the dux *Britanniarum*; his insignia consist entirely of the fourteen *castella* in or around Yorkshire. This consideration, however, is not decisive, because in the Danubian provinces the numbers of the *castella* in the insignia of the dukes is considerably smaller than the number in the text. But it may establish a presumption; for just after the *Notitia* was drawn up the Danubian provinces, as we saw, were in the process of reorganisation, and in the case of all the other dukes the numbers of the *castella* pictured in the insignia exactly correspond to the numbers recorded in the text. There is therefore, apart from archaeology, some reason for thinking that the Wall ceased to be manned by troops during the reign of Honorius, and

<sup>1</sup> *Not. Occ.* v. 241, *secunda Britannica* = vii, 156, *secundani Britannici*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 148, n. 3.

if so the date which naturally offers itself to conjecture is the time of the rebellion of Constantine (A.D. 407-11).

§ 19. From A.D. 410 to 429 Roman literary sources tell us nothing of Britain, but in A.D. 429 Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, was sent thither by Pope Celestine to stem the Pelagian heresy, and in his biography by Constantius, written not many years after his death, there is a notice, which, though legendary in form, is clearly based on an actual victory won over combined forces of Saxons and Picts in the neighbourhood of St. Albans.<sup>1</sup> The story makes it a bloodless victory gained by the efforts of Germanus. It illustrates the evidence of the Notitia that at this time or soon afterwards newly-formed units were being sent to the Count of the Britains. The pressure of the Saxons is further confirmed by the British tradition that in the consulship of Felix and Taurus, A.D. 428, the Saxons came to Britain.<sup>2</sup>

The next notice we have in a Roman source is a few years posterior to the chronological limits of the Notitia Occidentis. A Gallic chronicle states that in the eighteenth year of the joint reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III (calculated from the death of Honorius)<sup>3</sup>

Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus uariis cladibus euentibusque

<ue> xatae<sup>4</sup> in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur.

It looks rather as if this, A.D. 442, were the year in which Roman rule finally came to an end in Britain. Valentinian III and Aetius had neither money nor men to continue to defend the island; all they had were urgently needed nearer home. It was the same year in which Rome was compelled formally to surrender to Gaiseric the best provinces of Africa.

§ 20. It will be convenient to summarise the principal results of this examination of the Notitia Dignitatum.

1. The *Notitia Orientis* comes from a clean copy, prepared at Constantinople in or soon after A.D. 426, and transmitted to the primicerius notariorum at Rome. It was copied from the notitia then in use at Constantinople.

2. The *Notitia Occidentis* is derived from the working copy in use in the office of the primicerius at Rome, drawn up in A.D. 427-8, and in use during the following decade. Thus it contains a number of corrections and additions of the years 428-437.

3. The troops enumerated in *Not. Occ.* vii represent the field forces of the west as they were at this period (428-437), not, as is generally assumed, at the end of the fourth century.

<sup>1</sup> Constantius, *Vita Germani*, c. 17. See Levison, *Bischof G. von Auxerre*, in *Neues Archiv*, xxix, 97 sqq. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Brittonum* (in *Chron. Minora*, iii), c. 66, p. 209, cp. c. 31, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Gall.* 128, p. 660.

<sup>4</sup> So I read for *latae*; the correction seems simpler than Mommsen's *la <te uexa> tae*.

4. The sections of *Not. Occ.* appertaining to Britain represent the actual situation in 428 and following years ; with the possible exception of the sub-section of xl on the troops on the Wall.

5. It is therefore possible that the Gallic Chronicle may preserve the true date of the Roman abandonment of Britain, A.D. 442.

6. The office of *magister equitum per Gallias* was introduced, as a permanent command, in A.D. 429.



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The Nika Riot

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## THE NIKA RIOT.

THE great popular insurrection which shook the throne of Justinian in the fifth year of his reign and laid in ashes the imperial quarter of Constantinople has been treated again and again by historians, but never in a completely satisfactory way.<sup>1</sup> Its import has not been quite clearly grasped, owing to an imperfect apprehension of the meaning of the circus factions; the sources have not been systematically correlated; the chronology has not been finally fixed; and the topographical questions have caused much perplexity. It is not therefore superfluous to submit the material to a new investigation. I do not propose to enter upon the subject of the circus factions, as they have been well treated recently by the Russian scholar, Th. Uspenski;<sup>2</sup> but shall confine myself to problems relating to the authorities, the chronology, and the topography.

## I.—AUTHORITIES.

The accounts of several contemporaries, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the event, have come down to us directly; two or three other contemporary notices have been preserved in the works of later writers.

§ 1. The Count Marcellinus was an Illyrian by birth, like Justinian himself. He had been an official<sup>3</sup> in the service of Justinian when that Emperor was a Master of Soldiers in the first year of Justin. He retired from public life and embraced the clerical profession, before his patron came to the throne. The first edition of his Chronicle reached the year A.D. 518, but he subsequently re-edited it, bringing it down to A.D. 534. His notice of the insurrection of A.D. 532 is brief,<sup>4</sup> but highly important, not so much for the

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xl.

Lebeau, ed St. Martin, vol. 8, 184–196.

W. A. Schmidt, *Der Aufstand in Constantinopel unter Kaiser Justinian*, 1854.

P. Kalligas, *Περὶ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Νίκα*, in *Μελέται καὶ λόγοι* (1882), p. 329 sqq.

Labarte, *Le Palais impérial de Constantinople*, etc., p. 13–15.

A. Paspatis, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, (transl. W. Metcalfe), p. 59 sqq.

L. von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 2, p. 23 sqq.

T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, iii. p.

618 sqq.

J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 340 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, i. p. 1 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancellarius*. Justinian was *mag. equitum et peditum praesentalis*, in A.D. 521. See C. J. L. 5, 8120, 3. Cp. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, 2, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, 2, p. 103. It is strange that M. Kalligas, whose study on the Nika revolt is fuller than any other (except Schmidt's), should have entirely ignored the notice of Marcellinus.

details as for the colouring it gives to the event. The revolt is represented as a conspiracy organized by the nephews of Anastasius for their own personal ends, and not a hint is breathed of any other causes. This account is at variance with our other sources, in which the part played by Hypatius and his brothers is represented as merely an after-thought and quite unconnected with the origin of the tumult. When we remember the close personal connexion of Marcellinus with Justinian, we are justified in regarding the notice in his Chronicle as a quasi-official account. I do not mean to say that it was directly 'inspired'; I mean only that Marcellinus, in sympathy with the existing régime, gave utterance to that interpretation of the revolt which Justinian and the court wished or feigned to believe,—namely, that it was not a genuine expression of popular feeling, but merely due to the machinations of Hypatius and his friends.

At the same time Marcellinus lets out a very significant fact. A large number of the higher classes took part in the insurrection.<sup>1</sup> This confirms the statements of other sources.<sup>2</sup>

§ 2. The narrative of Procopius<sup>3</sup> presents a marked contrast to that of Marcellinus; it is full and circumstantial, it sets forth the causes of the revolt, and, though nothing disrespectful is said, we are permitted to read between the lines that the writer's sympathy is not with Justinian, but with the nephews of Anastasius. It is abundantly clear that in the Public History Procopius adopted the plan of placing his own hostile criticisms on the government in the mouths of the actors who appear on the stage of his story. He might thus defy censorship. If he were called to account for enumerating the evils which Justinian's administration brought upon Italy,<sup>4</sup> he had only to reply: 'But I was only recording the lies uttered by the barbarian Totila.' We are therefore justified in seeing a reflexion of the personal sympathies of Procopius in the last words of Hypatius: 'We are innocent. We could not resist the people. It was from no illwill to the Emperor that we entered the Hippodrome.' This is a blank denial of the view reflected in the notice of Marcellinus. The nephews of Anastasius are represented as innocent victims; the sentence of Justinian as unjust. And there is no doubt that it was the view of Procopius himself.

I have said that the narrative of Procopius is circumstantial, but here it contrasts with the other circumstantial narrative which has been preserved, that of John Malalas. The historian leaves out no point essential for the comprehension of the general course of the revolt and its political significance; but he omits a great many details where the Chronicler is circumstantial, and

<sup>1</sup> *Iam plerisque nobilium coniuratis.*

<sup>2</sup> In the account of Procopius, we find the senator Origen among the rebels; and the property of the senators who supported Hypatius is confiscated. Malalas mentioned the banishment of 'eighteen illustres and senators' (omitted in the abridgement of the Baroccianus, but preserved in the Escorial fragment ed. by

Mommsen, *Hermes*, 6, p. 377, and in Theophanes, p. 185, l. 30 ed. de Boor). Cp. Panchenko, *O tainoi istorii Prokopiia*, in *Viz. Vrem.*, iii, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> *Bell. Pers.*, i. c. 24; vol. 1, p. 119 sqq. ed. Bonn.

<sup>4</sup> *B. G.*, iii, 21, p. 340 ed. Comparetti.



on the other hand he is circumstantial where the Chronicler is meagre. Procopius summarizes the tumults and conflagrations of the first days of the rebellion, in a few lines; he omits altogether the scene in the Hippodrome on Jan. 13; and he begins his circumstantial story on the evening of Saturday, Jan. 17. The great interest in his relation is that he describes what happened in the palace. Malalas only knows what went on in the city and the Hippodrome, but the secretary of Belisarius knew the doings and the deliberations of the court, nor can there be much doubt that he was in the palace with Belisarius during the last days of the insurrection. We may, I think, safely contrast the story of Procopius with that of Malalas by saying that: *Procopius followed the revolt from the Palace, while in the account of Malalas the point of view is that of a spectator in the town.*

§ 3. John the Lydian gives a brief account of the revolt in his treatise *De Magistratibus* (written after A.D. 551).<sup>1</sup> He does not relate its course, but enumerates some of the buildings which were burned down, and states that nigh fifty thousand of the populace were killed. The main interest of his notice lies in the fact that he ascribes it mainly to the rapacity and maladministration of John of Cappadocia. This is significant, when we remember that the writer, although disappointed, was loyal to Justinian and had still hopes from the court which would have prevented him from saying anything offensive.<sup>2</sup> We may infer that, after the disgrace of John of Cappadocia in A.D. 541, Justinian was willing to let fall on that minister's administration part of the blame which, when Marcellinus wrote in A.D. 534, was imputed entirely to Hypatius and his adherents.

§ 4. The notice of Victor Tonnennensis, though very brief,<sup>3</sup> supplies two points which we find in no other source. (a) Hypatius and Pompeius were slain *at night*. (b) The body of Hypatius was thrown *in Rheuma*; the Greek sources say simply into the sea. Victor was contemporary, though he wrote more than thirty years later, and might have heard from eye-witnesses. But it is probable that he took the notice straight from Italian Consularia.<sup>4</sup>

§ 5. A summary account from the Ecclesiastical History of Theodore Lector (who carried his work down into the early part of Justinian's reign) is

<sup>1</sup> B. iii., c. 26, p. 265-6 ed. Bonn. The author has been describing the decay of the office of Praetorian Prefect, and, in connexion therewith, the misdeeds of John of Cappadocia. Lydus also notices the Nika in his treatise *De Ostentis*, § 8, p. 14 ed. Wachsmuth. He is enumerating portents of sedition and civil war; among these he mentions a kite hovering in the air over a crowded theatre, *ὅποιον ἵπποδρομίας ἐπιτελουμένης εἶδομεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρτι διελθούσης ἐνάτης ἐπινεμήσεως* (A.D. 530-1) *ἥς ἀγομένης ἱκτίνος τὸ βέλος, τὴν λεγομένην σαγίτταν, τῷ ῥέμφει φέρων, ὅλον ἐπικυκλώσας τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀβελοῦ ταύτην διωλύγιον συρίττων ἀπέθετο.*

*ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐδὲν βραδύνας, καθ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ κινηθεὶς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπώλλυτο, ἡ δὲ πόλις πυρὶ πᾶσα διεφθείρετο, ὥς καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν, εἰ μὴ θεὸς ἀντίπραττεν, οὐ πόρρω κινδύνων ἔλθειν.*

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the career of John the Lydian I may refer to my *Later Roman Empire*, ii. p. 183-4.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, ii. p. 198, ad ann. 530. I suspect that the false date was due to the circumstance that 530 was *Lampadio et Oreste cons.* and 532 *p. c. Lampadi et Orestis ann.* iii.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 180.

preserved in Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* ii. 112, and with slight variations in Theophanes (see below § 9); and in a fuller form in Cedrênus (below § 10). It adds nothing to what we know from other sources.

§ 6. An interesting notice, though inaccurate and enveloped in verbiage, has been preserved in the Continuation of Zacharias of Mytilene.<sup>1</sup> The cause of the riot is here imputed to the exactions of John of Cappadocia, who 'favoured one of the factions.'<sup>2</sup> There were constant complaints<sup>3</sup> against the Praefect and the Emperor; at length, the factions united for some days. The revolt is then briefly described with certain variations from, and additions to, the other accounts.

§ 7. Of the Chronicle of John Malalas (Rhetor) of Antioch, the first seventeen Books (with a few paragraphs which were then part of B. 17 but were afterwards prefixed to B. 18) appeared between A.D. 528 and 540. A second edition appeared after A.D. 565, bringing the work down to Justinian's death (B. 18). The question is debated whether this revision and continuation was due to the author of the original work, John Malalas himself, or to some one else.<sup>4</sup> I believe that the second view is the true one; but in either case the chronicle of Justinian's reign is due to a contemporary, and that is enough for our present purpose. Of the revised chronicle (published probably c. A.D. 566) the text which has been handed down in the unique Oxford MS.<sup>5</sup> is only an abbreviation. But we have material for approximating to the original shape in the works of other compilers who copied slavishly from the complete chronicle. So far as the eighteenth book is concerned, this subsidiary material consists of (1) the Paschal Chronicle, (2) Theophanes, (3) the Constantinian excerpts published by Mommsen,<sup>6</sup> (4) excerpts published by Cramer<sup>7</sup> from a ninth-century chronicler.<sup>8</sup>

This material does not, in the present case, enable us to restore with certainty the narrative of Malalas, though it enables us to see that this narrative was considerably longer in the original text than in the Oxford epitome. The difficulty is that the Paschal Chronicler and Theophanes used another source as well as Malalas;<sup>9</sup> and it is impossible in certain passages to determine which of the two sources was responsible. It is however indispensable to make an attempt to distinguish these two sources.

<sup>1</sup> B. 9, 14. Mr. E. W. Brooks most kindly supplied me with an epitome of the passage. It will be included in the forthcoming translation of Zacharias and his Continuator, by Messrs. Hamilton and Brooks.

<sup>2</sup> μέρη.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκβοήσεις.

<sup>4</sup> It is not necessary to go further into the 'Malalasfrage' here. See Krumbacher's *Gesch. der byz. Litteratur*, § 140, and my review in the *Classical Review*, 1897, May.

<sup>5</sup> Baroccianus 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Hermes*, Bd. 6, p. 377 (fragment on Nika revolt).

<sup>7</sup> *Anecd. Paris*, vol. 2, 320.

<sup>8</sup> I omit other chronicles which have to be taken into account in dealing generally with Malalas, but which do not help us for our present purpose (*e.g.* John of Nikin, George Monachus).

<sup>9</sup> I pointed out (*Classical Review*, *loc. cit.*) that Theophanes used three sources; the proof being that he has three introductions, the third of which is the introduction of Malalas. The Paschal Chronicler also used the other unknown source. Gleye proved (against Patzig) that he used the Malalas chronicle.

To begin with; we must compare our text of Malalas with the Constantinian excerpt. This fragment is not an excerpt in the proper sense; it is not a verbal extract or series of extracts, but a brief summary in which the original phrases are not always retained.

(a) The fragment does not give the causes of the insurrection, but rushes *in medias res*: ἀντήραν αὐτῷ (Ἰουστινιανῷ) ὁ δῆμος τῶν λεγομένων πρασινοβενέτων καὶ πολλὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ ἄλωσιν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει.<sup>1</sup> These words are of course merely a general introductory summary, and the only phrase which we can claim with security for Malalas is the compound *πρασινοβένετοι*, which the excerptor (as τῶν λεγομένων shows) did not make for himself.<sup>2</sup> The next clause notices the burning of a number of buildings:

καὶ ἔκαυσαν οἱ αὐτοὶ δημόται τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους τόπους ἀπὸ τοῦ παλλατίου ἕως τοῦ φόρου καὶ τῆς ἄρκας δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ μετὰ τῶν παρακειμένων πασῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ὀκτάγωνον.

Now in our Malalas text conflagrations are mentioned at two points of the narrative: (1) on the night of the 13th Jan., and (2) after the conflict with Belisarius and his force of Goths. In the first case, the praetorium was fired and the following places were burned down:<sup>3</sup>

τὸ πραιτώριον καὶ ἡ χαλκὴ τοῦ παλατίου ἕως τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ δημόσιος ἔμβολος.

In the second case, it is merely stated generally: καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ἔβαλον πῦρ.<sup>4</sup> At first sight the mention of the praetorium might seem to show that the excerptor had in view the first conflagration, and ὁ δημόσιος ἔμβολος might be supposed to mean the porticoes along the Mesê, between the Augusteum and the Forum of Constantine. But (1) it is hardly conceivable that the excerptor would have omitted to enumerate the Great Church; (2) ὁ δημόσιος ἔμβολος is, in the context, more naturally understood of the portico of the Augusteum than of the porticoes on either side of the Mesê; (3) the excerptor says nothing of the events which, in our Malalas-text, occurred between the two conflagrations, but goes on directly to the events after the second conflagration; (4) it will be shown below that the praetorium was fired a second time.

I think we may therefore provisionally conclude that the words in our Malalas-text καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ἔβαλον πῦρ are the epitomator's summary of an enumeration of buildings, which is, wholly or partly, preserved in the Constantinian fragment; the phrase ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις being suggested by the first words of the original τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους τόπους (where

<sup>1</sup> The date is given falsely εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> So George Monachus, i., p. 528, ed. Murlt. I have not devoted a special section to the notice of this chronicle (cp. the corre-

sponding notices in Leo Grammaticus and Theodosius Melitenus); it is abbreviated from CF,—it contains nothing that is not in CF.

<sup>3</sup> p. 474, 17, ed. Bonn.

<sup>4</sup> p. 475, 10.

ὑποτεταγμένους suggests the position of the buildings between the first and second hill).

(β) The fragment proceeds (without any hint of a time-interval):

καὶ πάλιν μὲν ταῦτα κράζειν (*sic*) ὁ δῆμος, Ὑπάτιε αὐγουστε τούμνικας [id est, τοῦ βίγκας].

Our Malalas relates that on the 18th Jan. the Emperor appeared in the Hippodrome with the Gospels; the people gathered together and the Emperor προσεφώνησεν αὐτοῖς μεθ' ὅρκων μανδᾶτα (the Paschal Chronicle explains this clause, which in itself is not very clear): then

καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τοῦ δήμου ἔκραζον αὐτὸν βασιλέα ἕτεροι δὲ ἐστασίαζον κράζοντες Ὑπάτιον.

We can infer with certainty that Ὑπάτιον of the epitomator is an abridgment of Ὑπάτιε αὐγουστε, τοῦ βίγκας. But we may infer more than this. The words πάλιν μὲν ταῦτα imply the repetition of a cry already mentioned, and have no meaning in the extract. It follows that they occurred in the original, where their meaning must have depended on a preceding account of cries uttered by the people. Hence we conclude that this passage was abridged by the epitomator of the Oxford text. *In the original Malalas the words Ὑπάτιε αὐγουστε τοῦ βίγκας must have occurred twice.*

This conclusion is confirmed by the Paschal Chronicler who supplies us with the material for restoring the passage which the Oxford epitomator has omitted. There we read, after the scene in the Hippodrome, that Justinian retired into the palace and dismissed the senators, that the people met Hypatius and Pompeius and cried Ὑπάτιε αὐγουστε τοῦ βίγκας. These incidents are omitted in our Malalas-text; but this second cry is preserved in our Constantinian fragment. Thus we are justified in inferring that this passage in the Paschal Chronicle (καὶ ἔασεν.....τοῦ βίγκας, p. 624, 1 sqq.) was derived from Malalas; to whom we may restore it with some such slight change as καὶ πάλιν ταῦτὰ<sup>1</sup> ἔκραζεν (for καὶ ἔκραξαν).

(γ) The next section, describing the elevation of Hypatius, is much shortened in the Constantinian fragment=CF, but one or two points are preserved there which are lost in our Oxford Malalas text=OM.

CF. καὶ ἀγαγόντες Ὑπάτιον τὸν στρατηλάτην ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ.	καὶ λαβόντες οἱ δῆμοι τὸν αὐτὸν Ὑπάτιον ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Φόρῳ Κωνσταντίνου.	OM.
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Thus in the original Malalas, after the people met and saluted Hypatius in the street, he retired to his house, and the people fetched him thence to the Forum of Constantine. Moreover he was described by his title στρατηλάτης (magister militum). Another detail preserved in the CF. is his elevation on a shield, when he had been invested with the royal dress: καὶ ἀναγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ σκουταρίῳ.

<sup>1</sup> So possibly for ταῦτα; or perhaps simply πάλιν ἔκραζεν. 'Quellenforschung' has its limits.  
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(δ). The next clause of CF. records the gathering of the people in the Hippodrome and is entirely omitted in OM.: *πληρωθέντος δὲ καὶ ὅλου τοῦ ἵππικου ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ὡς θελόντων θεωρῆσαι βασιλέα στεφόμενον*. The sentence is incomplete; it probably fits in after the words *ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου*, Mal. p. 475, 22.

(ε). The next sentence describing the orders of Justinian is also omitted in OM., and should come before the first words of p. 476, 1: *ἔτι δὲ γέμοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἵππικου ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπολυθῆναι τὸν στρατιώτην αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ φανερῶν ἐξάρχων*. CF. also notes the places where Belisarius and Mundus respectively entered the Hippodrome: *καὶ εἰσῆλθε Μούνδος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ καθίσματος ἐπάνω τῶν θυρῶν τοὺς ὄντας δῆμους ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ καὶ Βελισάριος ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ καθίσματος*.

(ζ). Passing over all the details of the scene in the Hippodrome CF. states the number of the slain less precisely than OM., but with a phrase which probably found a place in the original Malalas:

CF.	καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας περὶ τὰς λ' χιλιάδας.	οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ σφαγέντες ἦσαν χιλιάδες τριάκοντα πέντε μικρῷ πλεον ἢ ἔλασσον.
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(η). CF. gives the reasons for the execution of Hypatius and Pompeius, and records the banishment of eighteen other senators (points omitted by OM.):

*καὶ συνελάβετο<sup>1</sup> Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ τὸν Ὑπάτιον καὶ Πομπήϊον καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς, τὸν μὲν ἕνα ὡς φορέσαντα βασιλικὴν φορεσίαν καὶ ἀντάραντα, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ὡς συνευρεθέντα μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἰλλουστρίους καὶ συγκλητικούς δημεύσας ἐξώρισεν διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς τῇ τυραννίδι Ὑπατίου προσθέσθαι*.

(θ). CF. concludes with remarks which are left out in OM:

*καὶ ἐγένετο εἰρήνη ἐν τῇ πόλει. καὶ προεβάλετο ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως Τρύφωνα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν δημοσιῶν ἐκόλασε. καὶ ἵππικὸν οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον*.

§ 8. We are now in a position to consider how far the Paschal Chronicler used Malalas. The short summary of the *ἄκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον*—the recriminations between the Emperor and the Greens—which are reproduced in full by Theophanes, was derived from another source.<sup>2</sup> The Chronicler seems then to pass abruptly to the middle of the narrative of Malalas. He omits the incident of the two criminals who fell from the gallows; and does not even state that the Blues and Greens reconciled their differences. Hence his story, taken by itself, is unintelligible; and it seems possible that our text is imperfect.<sup>3</sup> It begins with the supersession of John, Tribonian, and Eudae-

<sup>1</sup> *συνελάβετο* was probably not in the original, in this clause; the excerptor took the word from the description of Belisarius seizing Hypatius and Pompeius (*χειρὶ συνελάβετο*, 476, 11).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above § 7, par 2, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> There is, at the transition, a curious insertion in P, not found in the other MSS. It does fit into the context; some words must have fallen out:—

*καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδεῖν τί κρᾶζουσιν*  
[P: *ὡς ἔτυχεν· ἀλλ' ὅτε πολλὰ γένηται ἀνάγκη*

mon; and it is clear from the following comparison that the Pasch. Chron. derived this passage from the work of Malalas.

CHRON. PASCH. (p. 620).

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδεῖν τί κρᾶζουσιν. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ὁ πατρικίος Βασιλείδης ὁ ποιῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἑρμογένους ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ Κωνσταντίολος. καὶ στήσαντες τὰ εἰσελαύνοντα πλήθη ἐξω τοῦ παλατίου κατασιγήσαντες αὐτὰ προσεφώνησαν αὐτοῖς, λέγοντες, τί ζητοῦντες γενέσθαι στασιάζετε; καὶ ἔκραζαν κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καππάδοκος καὶ Ρουφίνου (sic) τοῦ κυαίστορος καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως Εὐδαίμονος. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες ἀνήγαγον τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ εὐθέως διεδέξατο τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῶν πραιτωρίων Ἰωάννην καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτ' αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. διεδέξατο δὲ καὶ Ῥουφίνον τὸν κυαίστορα καὶ κ.τ.λ. καὶ τὸν ἑπαρχὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως Εὐδαίμονα διεδέξατο καὶ κ.τ.λ.

OM. (p. 475).

καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ περὶ Μοῦνδον καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Βασιλίδην μετὰ βοηθείας κατὰ κέλεις τοῦ βασιλέως,<sup>1</sup>

βουλόμενοι

κατασιγῆσαι τὰ στασιάζοντα πλήθη·

κατέκραζε γὰρ τὸ πλήθος Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικλην Καππάδοκος καὶ Τριβουνιανῶ τοῦ κοιαιστωρος καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως Εὐδαίμονος· καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀκηκοότες οἱ ἐκ πεμφθέντες συγκλητικὸι ἀνήγαγον τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ εὐθέως διεδέχθησαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅ τε Ἰωάννης καὶ Τριβουνιανὸς

καὶ Εὐδαίμων.

[The words preserved in either source and omitted in the other are printed in spaced type.]

We at once remark that the epitomator has here gone to work very discreetly. He has omitted those clauses, whose omission can best be spared, and the only positive facts he has left out are the names of the ministers who were appointed to replace John, Tribonian, and Eudaemon.<sup>2</sup> The Paschal Chronicler was less discreet. While he unnecessarily repeats the names of the offices of the deposed ministers (τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῶν πραιτ. κ.τλ.), he omits the important words μετὰ βοηθείας.

The next omission of the epitomator is less fortunate. Having mentioned the Emperor's concession in deposing the obnoxious ministers, he goes on to state that Belisarius issued forth with Gothic soldiers and fought with the mob. It was obviously necessary to say that the concession had failed to appease the people. The Paschal Chronicle preserves the requisite words :

CHRON. PASCH.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπέμενεν ἕξω τοῦ παλατίου εἰσελαύνων· καὶ τούτου γνωσθέντος ἐξῆλθεν ὁ πατρικίος Βηλίσάρις ὁ στρατηλάτης μετὰ πλήθους Γότθων καὶ ἔκοψε πολλοὺς ἄχρις ἐσπέρας.

OM.

καὶ ἐξελθόντος Βελισαρίου μετὰ πλήθους Γοτθικοῦ καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν κατεσφάγησαν.

τότε ποιεῖς ἃ ἐβουλεύσω. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέλθατε οὖν καὶ μάθετε τίνος χάριν στασιάζουσιν]. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν κ.τλ.

Somebody seems to be remonstrating with Justinian in the Palace on his indecision.

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ κέλ. τ. βασ. need not have been in

the original, but may be due to the epitomator who had to make up for the omission of the preceding sentence.

<sup>2</sup> The Constantinian Fragment mentions the name of the new Praefect of the City, Tryphon ; but at the end of the episode.



I suspect that the first clause was dropped by the epitomator, because almost the same words had occurred before, (p. 474, 19) *καὶ ἐπέμεινεν ὁ δῆμος εἰσελαύνων ἀτάκτως*.

At this point the Paschal Chronicler leaves Malalas and copies his other source. From p. 621–623, we can find no trace of Malalas. The motive for thus changing sources doubtless lay in the circumstance that Malalas did not describe in detail the events of Thursday evening, Friday, and Saturday. In OM. we have nothing whatever corresponding to this period of time beyond the chronologically vague statement: *θυμωθὲν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ἔβαλον πῦρ καὶ τινας ἀτάκτως ἐφόνεον*. As we have seen, this is supplemented by an enumeration of buildings which were burned, in CF. We may infer, I think, that the original Malalas did not contain much more than this enumeration.

On Sunday, Jan 18, the Paschal Chronicler returns to Malalas, and preserves more fully than OM. the scenes of Justinian's appearance in the Hippodrome and the elevation of Hypatius. This is proved by the numerous verbal coincidences and especially by the argument which I brought forward above, in connexion with CF.<sup>1</sup> Nor can there be much doubt that the incident of the sending of Ephraim to the Palace was related in the original Malalas. The epitomator merely gives the result of the mission, which was that Hypatius learned that Justinian had left the Palace.

## CHRON. PASCH.

(Ephraim says to Hypatius) 'ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔφυγε καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν <ἐν> τῷ παλατίῳ.' καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ὑπάτιος ἔδοξε θαρσαλέωτερος καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ δεσποτικῷ καθίσματι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ.<sup>2</sup>

## OM.

ἦν γὰρ μαθὼν ὁ Ὑπάτιος ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέχωρσεν.

καὶ καθεστὼς ἐν τῷ καθίσματι μετὰ θράσους ἐτυράννει.

After this, the Paschal Chronicle has a sentence (*ἦλθαν δὲ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντιανῶν κ.τ.λ.*), of which there is no trace in OM., and which may or may not have been in the original Malalas. It then goes on to relate that Justinian proceeded to the Cathisma, accompanied by Mundus, Belisarius, and others; and there can be no question that in what follows the Paschal Chronicle copied Malalas.<sup>3</sup> In OM. it is not stated that Justinian himself went to the Cathisma, but there is no reason to suppose that this detail was got by the Paschal Chronicler from a different source.

The notice of the burial and epitaph of Hypatius (p. 627–8) may have been derived either from Malalas or from the other source; but the notice of the confiscation of the property of the two brothers and a number of senators

<sup>1</sup> Above § 7, (β).

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀκούειν τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐφημίας καὶ τὰς ὑβριστικὰς φωνὰς ἃς ἔλεγον εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔγουσαν Θεοδώραν. Cp. Cramer, *Anecd. Par.*, 2, 320 καὶ ἱ. βασιλέα ἀναθεματίζοντες ἐφύβριζον, ὅτι δὲ πατρίκιον εὐφήμησαν ἐν τῷ καθίσματι στέφαντες.

<sup>3</sup> The notice preserved in the Paschal Chronicle that a certain Antipater, vindex of

Antioch (Theupolis), was slain in the Hippodrome, must come from Malalas, and most distinctly points to Antiochene influence in the early part of the eighteenth Book. A purely Constantinopolitan writer would never pick out of 30,000, a person of purely local importance at Antioch; whereas it is just what an Antiochene would do



was derived from Malalas. This is clear from a comparison with Theophanes and CF.

CF.	THEOPH. (p. 185, 30).	CHRON. PASCH. (628).
καὶ ἡ ἰλλουστρίους καὶ συγκλη- τικὸν δημεύσας ἐξώρυσεν διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς τῇ τυραννίδι Ὑπατίου προσθέσθαι.	καὶ ἐδημεύθησαν οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν, μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἡ πατρικίων καὶ ἰλλουστρίων καὶ ὑπατικῶν δημευ- θέντων ὥς συνδρόμων Ὑπατίου. καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας.	τὰ δὲ διαφέροντα αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐδημεύθη καὶ οἱ λυιτοὶ πατρίκιοι οἱ ἅμα αὐτοῖς εὐρεθέντες ἐφυγον οἱ μὲν εἰς μοναστήρια οἱ δὲ εἰς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη- σαν οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν. φανεροὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδημεύθησαν καὶ ἐξωρίσθησαν.

§ 9. Theophanes<sup>1</sup> begins by (1) a summary of the events of the sedition, derived from Theodore Lector. He then (2) copies in full the *ἄκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον*, from some unknown source. (3) He passes to Malalas, and follows him mainly, though not altogether, for the details of the rebellion.

Adopting the same introductory formula as Malalas, Theophanes abbreviates and makes verbal alterations in the account of the incident of the two criminals rescued by the monks of St. Conon. Theophanes does not mention the four rioters who were beheaded, but only the three who were impaled; on the other hand, he states that the two who escaped fell *twice* from the stake, while the epitomator of Malalas mentions only one fall. There is one discrepancy, which however need not be more than apparent. Theophanes states that the crowd, seeing the criminals lying on the ground, cried: *τούτους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, while OM says that they acclaimed Justinian (*εὐφήμησαν τὸν βασιλέα*). But there is no reason against supposing that the original text of Malalas, which both Theophanes and OM abbreviated, contained both statements.

And now we come to a remarkable point in the narrative of Theophanes. He states that the praefect sent soldiers to guard the rescued criminals in the asylum of St. Laurentius:

*ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἑπαρχος ἔπεμψε στρατιώτας τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς,*  
which corresponds to Malalas, 473, 19:

*καὶ γνοὺς ταῦτα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἑπαρχος πέμψας στρατιωτικὴν βοήθειαν ἐφύλαττεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε ὄντας.*

But instead of continuing the narrative as it stands in Malalas, he omits the events described in 474, 1–14, and at once proceeds to the incident of the visit of the demes to the praetorium, to ask for an answer respecting the fate of the criminals.

THEOPHANES (184, 12).	OM. (474, 14).
καὶ γρόντες οἱ δῆμοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἑπαρχὸν ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου τοὺς φυλάσσοντας στρατιώτας· καὶ ἀποκρίσεως οὐκ ἔτυχον παρ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ θυμωθέντες ἔβαλον πῦρ εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον.	βραδείας δὲ γενομένης ὥρας ἦλθον ἐν τῷ πραι- τωρίῳ τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ τῆς πόλεως αἰτοῦντες ἀπόκρι- σιν περὶ τῶν προφύγων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Λαυρεντίῳ. καὶ μὴ τυχόντες ἀποκρίσεως ὕψησαν πῦρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πραιτωρίῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes is cited throughout from C. de Boor's edition.

Now the passage which Theophanes has here omitted is absolutely indispensable to the comprehension of the story, for it describes the union of the Blues and Greens. This union is the key of the whole episode, and the narrative of Theophanes is vitiated by its omission. The question arises: what was his motive for omitting it? The answer is:

*Theophanes thought that the scene in the Hippodrome described by Malalas (p. 474, 1-14) was the same as that in which the altercation between Justinian and the Greens respecting Calapodius had occurred, and which he had already described from another source. He therefore omitted it, to the detriment of his whole story.*

Theophanes then states, with Malalas, that the people, receiving no answer, set fire to the Praetorium; but goes on, apparently deserting Malalas to group all the conflagrations of the riot together without distinction of the days on which they took place. His enumeration falls into three groups; p. 184, l. 15-19; *ib.* l. 19-24; *ib.* l. 24-27; corresponding respectively to Chron. Pasch. p. 623; p. 621-2; p. 622.

The Paschal Chronicler does not give the date of the first conflagration which he mentions, but he places it immediately after the sally of Belisarius and his Goths from the palace; the second took place on Friday; the third on Saturday. That he and Theophanes used the same source for their events is clear from a comparison.

## CHRON. PASCH.

καὶ λοιπὸν ἐνέπρησαν τὴν εἰσοδὸν τοῦ παλατίου τὴν χαλκόστεγον καὶ ἐκαύθη μετὰ τοῦ πορτίκου τῶν σχολαρίων καὶ τῶν προσηκτόρων καὶ κανδιδάτων, καὶ γέγονε διακοπή. ὁμοίως δὲ ἐκαύθη καὶ τὸ σένατον ὅπου ἐστὶ το λεγόμενον Αὐγουσταῖον καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία πᾶσα σὺν φοβεροῖς καὶ θαυμαστοῖς κίοσι πᾶσα ἐκ τετραέντου κατηνέχθη. κακείθεν κατῆλθεν ὁ δῆμος πάλιν εἰσελαύνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένα εἰς τὸν οἶκον Πρόβου καὶ ἐζήτηε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ὅπλα καὶ ἔκραζον, Πρόβον βασιλέα τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ. καὶ ἔβαλον πῦρ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου Πρόβου καὶ ὀλίγων καυθέντων ἐλείφθη τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐσβέσθη. τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἰστ' ἦλθον οἱ δῆμοι εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον τῶν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ ἔβαλον ἐκεῖ πῦρ καὶ ἐκαύθησαν αἱ στέγαι τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴκων καὶ μόνον τοῦ αὐτοῦ πραιτωρίου ὅπου τὰ σκρίνια. ἐφύσησεν γὰρ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἐδίωξεν καὶ ἐκαύθη τὸ βαλανεῖον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὁ ξενὼν τῶν Εὐβοῦλον ἐν μέρει καὶ ἡ ἁγία Εἰρήνη (ἥτις ἦν κτισθεῖσα κ.τ.λ.) καὶ ὁ ξενὼν τοῦ Σαμψῶνος ὁ μέγας ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνακείμενοι ἄρρωστοι. τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ . . . . . οἱ ὄχλοι ἦλθον αὐτοὶ εἰς τὸν ὀκτάγωνον τὸν ὕντα εἰς

## THEOPH. (184, 19-24).

καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὴν εἰσοδὸν τοῦ παλατίου τὴν χαλκόστεγον καὶ τὸν πορτίκον<sup>1</sup> τῶν προσηκτόρων καὶ τὸ σένατον<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Αὐγουστῆως.

καὶ κατῆλθεν ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὸν Σοφίας λέγω, λιμένα, εἰς τὸν οἶκον Πρόβου ζητοῦντες ὅπλα καὶ κράζοντες ἄλλον βασιλέα τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔβαλον πῦρ εἰς τὰ Πρόβου καὶ κατηνέχθη ὁ οἶκος.

καὶ ἦλθον καὶ ἔκαυσαν τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

καὶ τὸν ξενῶνα τῶν Σαμψῶν τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ ἄρρωστοι, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν σὺν τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κίοσιν<sup>3</sup> καὶ πᾶσα ἐκ τετραέντου κατηνέχθη.

<sup>1</sup> Om. codd., restituit de Boor.

<sup>2</sup> ἔνατον codd. Bieliaev is certainly wrong in suggesting as an alternative emendation τὸ στενὸν

(meaning the Golden Hand); *Byzantina*, i. 132. σένατον is certain.

CHRON. PASCH.

μέσον τῆς βασιλικῆς τῶν Γουναρίων καὶ τοῦ δημο-  
σίου ἐμβόλου τῆς Ῥηγίας· καὶ . . . οἱ στρατιῶται  
. . . ἔβαλον πῦρ καὶ ὑφῆψαν τὴν ὀκτάγωνον  
καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκαύθη τὰ περίξ τοῦ ἁγίου  
Θεοδώρου τῶν Σφαρακίου δίχα τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου  
τοῦ φούρνου τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου. ὁ δὲ ἔμβολος ὅλος  
τῶν ἀργυροπρατείων καὶ ὁ οἶκος Συμμάχου τοῦ  
ἀπὸ ὑπᾶτων ὀρδιναρίων καὶ ἡ ἁγία Ἀκυλῖνα ἕως  
τῆς καμάρας τοῦ ἄλλου ἐμβόλου τοῦ φόρου Κων-  
σταντίνου ἐκαύθη.

THEOPH. (184, 19-24).

1. 15-17.

καὶ ἐκάησαν οἱ ἔμβολοι ἀπὸ τῆς κισμάρας τοῦ  
φόρου ἕως τῆς χαλκῆς τὰ τε ἀργυροπρατεία καὶ τὰ  
λαύσου πάντα πυρὶ ἀνηλώθησαν.

Comparing these two accounts we see that :

1. Theophanes transposes the conflagrations which arose out of the burning of the octagon and which the Pasch. Chron. explicitly assigns to Saturday, and places them before the conflagrations which the Pasch. Chron. assigns to Friday and the preceding days.

2. While Theophanes presents in the same order as the Pasch. Chron. the conflagrations which took place before Friday and those which took place on Friday, he exhibits one remarkable discrepancy. Instead of bringing the burning of St. Sophia into connexion with the burning of the Senate House and the palace porticoes, which the Pasch. Chron. places before Friday, he brings it into connexion with the burning of the Bath of Alexander, the Xenon of Sampson, &c. which the Pasch. Chron. places on Friday : and yet he describes the burning of St. Sophia in the identical words used by the Pasch. Chron.

3. While in the main Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicler were using the same source, there is one striking discrepancy as to a fact. They describe in almost the same words the rush to the house of Probus, but, while the Paschal Chronicler says that the fire was quenched *ὀλίγων καθέντων*, Theophanes states that *κατηνέχθη ὁ οἶκος*. It seems clear that one of the two chroniclers must have here referred to a different source.

4. In the description of the conflagration of Friday, the text of Theophanes omits the important buildings, St. Irene and the Xenon of Eubulus, which are mentioned by Chron. Pasch., and of course by the common source. I do not believe that Theophanes intended to omit them. They easily fell out through homoioteleuton, and we should probably amend in the text of Theophanes (p. 184, l. 25) :

καὶ τὸν ξενῶνα τῶν <Εὐβούλου (ἐν μέρει) καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Εἰρήμην  
καὶ τὸν ξενῶνα τῶν> Σαμφῶν τὸν μέγαν.

5. In the conflagration of Saturday (Chron. Pasch.), Theophanes (184, 17) mentions the Palace of Lausus, which is not mentioned by Chron. Pasch. but he omits all mention of the Octagon and other buildings.

The main question which here arises is this : how is the remarkable inversion of the order of events in Theophanes, as compared with the Paschal Chronicle, to be explained ? The answer must be postponed, till we come to consider the topographical difficulties connected with the riot (see below § 21).

From the enumeration of the burned buildings, Theophanes passes to the resolution of Justinian to flee and gives us a unique notice as to the Emperor's plan of flight (184, 27–30). It is impossible to determine whether it comes from Malalas or not; but it seems to be out of its order, for the next sentence (185 l. 1–2 = Chron. Pasch. 622, 18), concerns the events of Saturday.

The following account of the elevation of Hypatius and the final scenes is derived from Malalas. This can be seen without any difficulty by comparing it with the Oxford Malalas and Chron. Pasch.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. George Cedrênus seems to have derived the first part of his brief account of the riot from Theodore Lector. It corresponds closely to the notice which Theophanes took from Theodore; only it is fuller, and therefore was not derived through Theophanes. It is fuller in two points: (a) the Xenôn of Eubulus is mentioned; (b) to ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία are added the words καὶ τὰ χαρτῶα αὐτῆς δικαιώματα καὶ ἡ πρόσδοδος πᾶσα.<sup>2</sup> The second section is identical with the second part of the fragment of Cramer, Anecd. Par. ii. p. 320.<sup>3</sup> This should conclude the notice; but a statement is added that the Octagon and Zeuxippus were burnt; and there is a reference to the fire of A.D. 476. There is no trace here of the use of Theophanes.

§ 11. Zonaras had before him, in writing his account of the Nika revolt,<sup>4</sup> a lost source which differed considerably from those that we possess.<sup>5</sup>

Starting with an introductory sentence suggested by a source which was also used by Cedrênus,<sup>6</sup> Zonaras comes at once to the main point, the union of the Blues and Greens. But the distinctive feature of his story is the prominence given to the battle between the barbarians and the demes, and the vain attempt of the clergy to pacify the tumult. He calls the barbarians Heruls,<sup>7</sup> and his notice is confirmed by Procopius, who mentions (at a different stage of the episode) that Mundus had a force of Heruls with him. From Zonaras alone do we learn of the part played by women in the riot.

<sup>1</sup> This is so clear that it is unnecessary to show it in full. But the comparison may be facilitated by the following references:—

Theophanes (de Boor)

185,	2–3	= cf. Malalas, 475, 22–23
„	11	= „ 476, 1
„	13	= „ „ 3
„	21	= cf. Mal., <i>Hermes</i> , 6, p. 377.
„	22	= Malalas, 476, 9
„	24	= „ „ 10
„	26–30	= „ „ 19–22
„	30	= Mal., <i>Hermes</i> , 6, 377.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noticed that Cedrênus gives τὸ προσκήνιον (τῆς βασιλικῆς), as in Cramer, Anecd. Par. ii. 112; whereas Theophanes has προσκιδόνιον.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοὺς δύο ἐμβόλους—ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Dindorf, vol. 3, p. 271, 8–273, 22.

<sup>5</sup> P. Sauerbrei, in his study on the sources of the middle part of the history of Zonaras, observed this, and describes the source as *optimus ut videtur fons deperditus*. De Font. Zon. quaestiones, in Comment. Philol. Jenenses, vol. I. p. 77. This (?) *optimus fons deperditus* was also used for the reigns of Leo and Zeno.

<sup>6</sup> To the effect that all the beauty in the city left by the former great fire (of A.D. 476) was now consumed. Cp. Cedrênus p. 647. Probably both were using a common source. I cannot enter here upon the latest combinations of E. Patzig,—the *Lequelle* and the *Zwillings-quelle*, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Αἰλουῦρων.

But at this point<sup>1</sup> the value of the account of Zonaras ceases. He mentions that the fire was propagated by a violent wind—a fact known otherwise only from the Paschal Chronicler; but of the buildings burnt he only mentions some in the region between St. Irene and the Palace. He has a peculiar statement<sup>2</sup> that Justinian wished to speak to the demes in the Hippodrome ('theatre'), but that they, afraid of being caught (ὡς ἐν εἰρκτῇ), refused to run into the trap. This statement, referring to the appearance of Justinian in the Hippodrome on Sunday morning, is discordant with the account of Malalas (Chron. Pasch.), from which it appears that the demes did assemble in the Hippodrome and reviled Justinian.

The rest of the story however accords with the account of Malalas and may well have been derived either from Malalas or from a source dependent on Malalas. Compare :

ZONARAS, 272, 31.  
καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδος αὐτὸν μετάρσιον ἔραντες  
ἀναγορεύουσι βασιλέα.

ZONARAS, 273, 4.  
ἴσχυσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα πλείστων χρημά-  
των διανομαῖς ὑποσύραι τῶν Βενέτων πολλούς,

καὶ οὕτως τὴν τῶν δῆμων ὁμόνοιαν  
διαστήσαντες χωρῆσαι κατ' ἀλλήλων αἰσὺς πε-  
ποιήκασιν.

τότε τοίνυν ἀθρόον ἐκ τῶν βασι-  
λείων οἱ προκοιτούντες τῶν κρατούντων ἐξέθορον  
ἔνοπλοι.

*Ib.* l. 12.  
μεστὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀνθρώπων τὸ θέατρον  
τῶν μὲν τῆς τῶν στασιαζόντων μοίρας, τῶν δὲ γε  
πλειόνων κατὰ θέαν τῶν γιγომένων καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
Ἰππικίου ἀναρρήσεως ἡθροισμένων.

MALALAS, *Hermes*, 6, 377.  
καὶ ἀναγαγόντες ἐν τῷ σκουταρίῳ.

THEOPH., 185, 14 (MAL. 476, 4).  
ὑπέσπρε τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Βενέτου μέρους ῥογέυσας  
χρήματα.

MALALAS, 476, 6.  
διχονοήσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμησαν κατ'  
ἀλλήλων.

THEOPH., 185, 2.  
ἐνόπων στρατιωτῶν βοήθειαν καὶ κουβικουλα-  
ρίους καὶ σπαθαρίους.

MAL. HERMES, 6, 377.  
πληρωθέντος δὲ καὶ ὄλου τοῦ ἵππικίου  
ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ὡς θελόντων θεωρῆσαι βασιλέα  
στεφόμενον.

Now I do not indeed regard these comparisons as conclusive; it is quite possible that they represent a different account, which agreed with, but was independent of, that of Malalas. Still it is remarkable that the account of Zonaras would serve as a very accurate, brief summary of the account of Malalas. We must bear in mind the method of Zonaras, who was always concerned to change the words of his sources. If he found *ἵππικόν* he was certain to substitute *θέατρον*; if he found a part of *πληρώω*, he would use a part of *γέμω* or *μεστός εἰμι*; if he found *ὑποκλέπτω* one could predict that he would employ *ὑποσύρω* or something else.<sup>3</sup> And he always of course avoided colloquialisms or Latinisms like *σκουτάρην*. There are only two points, one at the beginning, and one at the end, of this part of the episode, where the

<sup>1</sup> p. 272, 5.

<sup>2</sup> p. 272, 20-26.

<sup>3</sup> Malal. and Chron. Pasch. have *ὑποκλέπτω*, Theophanes, *ὑποσύρω*. We must infer that *ὑποκλέπτω* was in the original Malalas. But it

would be improper to infer that Zonaras must have here used Theophanes; for there it was quite natural that Theophanes and Zonaras should have hit independently on the same synonym.

influence of another source need be assumed. The statement that Hypatius was proclaimed *πῇ μὲν ἄκοντα, πῇ δὲ πεπεισμένον*,<sup>1</sup> which is in accordance with the story of Procopius, is not found in Malalas, so far as we can judge; yet it would be a possible inference from the incident of the sending of Ephraim to the Palace. The number of the slain is set by Zonaras<sup>2</sup> at 'about 40,000.' According to Malalas, it was 35,000. It may be conjectured that in his other source Zonaras found 50,000 (the number given by John Lydus) and that he adopted 40,000 as somewhere between the two.

While I admit fully that the general coincidence may be accidental, and that Zonaras used throughout a different source, I cannot help thinking it more probable that the latter half of his narrative was derived, directly or indirectly, from Malalas.

## II.—CHRONOLOGY.

§ 12. Our data for determining the days on which the events of the riot took place are derived from Malalas and the Paschal Chronicler (who here probably means Malalas), supplemented by two indications of Procopius. Theophanes has omitted all notes of time, except the most unimportant—namely that Hypatius and Pompeius were executed the day after they were arrested.

The first note of time is given to us by Malalas. The beginning of the tumult, the union of the Blues and Greens, the formal declaration of that union in the Hippodrome, took place on the 13th of January, A.D. 532.<sup>3</sup> Their union was caused by the execution of members of both parties by the praefect; and that execution had taken place *three days before*,<sup>4</sup> that is on Sunday the 11th January. It follows that the celebration, at which the Greens pressed their complaints against Calapodius, took place not later than the 11th. Most historians have fallen into the error of confounding this first scene in the Hippodrome (described by the Paschal Chronicler and Theophanes) with the second scene on Jan. 13 (described by Malalas).<sup>5</sup>

On the night of the 13th (which fell on Tuesday),<sup>6</sup> the united demes, having got no satisfaction from the Emperor, proceeded to the Praetorium; and demanded whether the praefect had decided to pardon the escaped prisoners. Receiving no answer they set fire to the praetorium. Other places were burned, and the people remained in the streets, *εἰσελαύνων ἀτάκτως* (during the night).

In the morning (Jan. 14th, Wednesday),<sup>7</sup> further outrages were committed; the complaints against John of Cappadocia, Tribonian, and Eudaemon were preferred, and they were deposed; Belisarius issued forth with a body of

<sup>1</sup> p. 272, 29.

<sup>2</sup> p. 273, 19.

<sup>3</sup> p. 474, 2-6. The date is also given by Marcellinus.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 1, *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*.

<sup>5</sup> Gibbon, Hodgkin, etc. Schmidt rightly

distinguished them, and was followed by Kalligas (so too Ranke). The assembly was doubtless held on the eleventh, preliminary to the celebration of the thirteenth. Schmidt, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *βραδείας δὲ γενομένης ὥρας*, p. 474, 14.

<sup>7</sup> *καὶ πρώτας γενομένης, ib.* 20.



Goths, and there was a conflict; then there were more conflagrations. All this is told in Malalas,<sup>1</sup> as if it took place on Wednesday, and in the corresponding part of the Chron. Pasch. there is no mark of time. But (1) it is improbable that all this occurred in one day; (2) the next events of which we hear belong to Friday; which leaves Thursday unaccounted for. Now in any case, something has been left out by the epitomator between the notice of the deposition of the obnoxious officers and the notice of the attack of Belisarius on the mob;<sup>2</sup> and this is probably the place where the night intervened. We may I think conclude, with great likelihood, that the main event of Wednesday, Jan. 14, was the deposition of the three ministers, and that the main event of Thursday, Jan. 15, was the sally of Belisarius from the Palace.<sup>3</sup>

At this stage Malalas, as represented in the Baroccian Epitome, deserts us; but fortunately the Paschal Chronicler, who up to this point has furnished no dates, now becomes precise, and fixes the events of Friday and Saturday.

On Friday, Jan. 16,<sup>4</sup> the praetorium was burnt, according to Chron. Pasch.; the conflagration was carried by the wind from that building, and other buildings were burned, which are enumerated.

On Saturday, Jan. 17,<sup>5</sup> there was a conflict between the soldiers and the mob. The soldiers set fire to the Octagon, and the fire spread to other buildings. This was the fifth day of the riot, and here we get our first indication of time from Procopius.<sup>6</sup> On the evening of this day, Justinian dismissed Hypatius and Pompeius from the Palace.

§ 13. The events of the following day, Sunday, Jan 18, are dated by Malalas, the Paschal Chronicle, Procopius, and Marcellinus. Malalas and the Paschal Chronicle give both the day of the week and the day of the month. Procopius names the day following the fifth day.<sup>7</sup> Marcellinus is slightly inaccurate. While he assigns the beginning of the sedition to the 13th January, he states that the sedition lasted *quinque continuos dies*, and that Hypatius was elevated *quinta huius nefandi facinoris die*. It is clear that, if he counted the 13th, he should have said *sex continuos dies*, and placed the final scene (like Procopius) on the sixth. But the inaccuracy is a pure inadvertence. Everyone remembered two things: that the Hippodrome scene took place on the Ides, and that the riots lasted for five days. They began late at night on the 13th with the attack on the praetorium, and they were over before the night of the 18th. Thus the statements of Marcellinus, true separately, lead,

<sup>1</sup> 474, 20, -475, 10.

<sup>2</sup> At 475, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt places the action of Belisarius on Wednesday, the burning of Chalkê etc., on Wednesday night, the attack on the house of Probus on Thursday (p. 60-1). Thus he follows Chron. Pasch.

<sup>4</sup> τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ιστ',

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ, τουτέστιν τῇ ιζ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀδυναίου μηνός.

<sup>6</sup> p. 123; τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρᾳ περὶ δειλὴν ὥψιαν.

<sup>7</sup> τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ (*ib.*), in reference to the date cited in preceding note.

when combined, to a misconception. On the reckoning that Hypatius was elevated on the fifth day, the 14th of Jan. must be counted as the first day.

It would seem certain then that the appearance of Justinian in the Hippodrome with the Gospels in his hand, the elevation of Hypatius, and the bloody suppression of the riot, took place on Sunday, Jan. 18. But this is not the view generally accepted.

Although in Malalas (both in the Oxford epitome, and in the fuller account of the Paschal Chronicler) the elevation of Hypatius follows immediately on the failure of Justinian's solemn oaths to appease the revolt, historians have assumed that a night intervened between these two events.<sup>1</sup> On this view, Justinian's appearance in the Hippodrome takes place on the morning of Sunday, Jan. 18, and the coronation of Hypatius on the morning of Monday, Jan. 19. The motive for this arrangement of events is doubtless a wish to reconcile a slight discrepancy between Procopius and the Paschal Chronicler. According to Procopius, Hypatius and Pompeius were dismissed from the palace the night before the elevation of Hypatius. According to the Paschal Chronicler the senators were dismissed from the palace after Justinian's appearance in the Hippodrome. It seems an easy and attractive way of reconciling these statements to suppose that the dismissal of Hypatius and his brother took place on Sunday night, and that 'the fifth day' meant by Procopius was Sunday, not Saturday. But there are serious objections to this combination.

(1) It is clear from the Paschal Chronicle and the Oxford epitome that the original chronicle of Malalas contained precise indications as to the days on which the various events fell. It is extremely hard to believe either that Sunday and Monday, the days (according to the received view) of the decisive events, would not have been distinguished in the original Malalas, or that both the Paschal Chronicler and the Epitomator let this distinction drop and so placed the final scene on the wrong day. The elaborate description in the Paschal Chronicle forbids the second supposition. (2) The tenor of the story deprecates the idea that a night intervened. According to Malalas (Chron. Pasch.), Justinian after he retires from the Hippodrome—it is still very early in the morning<sup>2</sup>—*immediately* (εὐθέως) dismisses the senators; and, when they went forth from the Palace, 'the people met Hypatius and Pompeius,' and took Hypatius to the Forum. This

<sup>1</sup> So Gibbon and Mr. Hodgkin. So too Schmidt.

Kalligas does not seem to assume the interval of a night; but he follows Chron. Pasch. in placing the dismissal of Hypatius from the Palace on Sunday. He regards it as a consequence of Justinian's fiasco in the Hippodrome; but he does not seem to observe that he deserts the authority of Procopius, which in such a matter is decisive.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ νύχτιον (Chr. Pasch.). This curious

word—ἀπᾶξ εἰρ., I believe—must mean, as it is generally taken, in the early hours of the morning before the night is over. It is not given in the Lexicon of Ducange, but Sophocles compares Nov. Test.; Mark i. 35, *πρωτὶ ἔνυχον λίαν*. The closest analogy I can find to the use of ἀπὸ νυκτός, which the compound appears to presume, is in the phrase ἀφ' ἡμέρας πίνειν = *de die bibere*. In the *Wasps* of Aristophanes ἀπὸ νυκτῶν μέσων means in the hours after midnight.

shows as clearly as possible that, according to Malalas, all happened on the same day. Only, Malalas has fallen into an error, easily explicable. Hypatius and Pompeius had left the Palace, as Procopius states, the evening before, and the people fetched them from their houses. Nothing would be more natural than a mistake of this kind,—the transference of the dismissal of the two brothers from the time at which it actually occurred to the time at which it assumed significance. (3) The statement of Marcellinus is decisive against the 19th as the day of the elevation of Hypatius. For in that case the sedition would have begun according to him on the 15th, which is, on no theory, possible.

On Jan. 19th (Monday), Hypatius and Pompeius were put to death.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—TOPOGRAPHY.

§ 14. It will be most convenient in the first place to determine as far as possible the sites of the buildings which were connected with the Nika riot, and then to examine, in the light of our conclusions, the evidence of the authorities, who in some respects conflict with one another.

There is no difficulty any longer as to the general position of the buildings around the Augusteum.<sup>2</sup> That place was bounded on the north by the southern side of St. Sophia, on the east by the Senate-house of the Augusteum (which must be carefully distinguished from the Senate-house of the Forum of Constantine)<sup>3</sup> and part of the palace wall, on the south by Palace buildings, the Chalkê or main entrance to the Palace, and the Baths of Zeuxippus. There is still room for doubt whether the west side of the Augusteum was partly closed by buildings or not. No doubt, an accurate line was drawn between the precincts of the Augusteum and the Mesê. The Mesê ('Middle Street') led down from the Augusteum into the valley between the First and Second Hill, and ascended to the Forum of Constantine on the top of the Second Hill. Passing through the Forum it went on all the way to the Golden Gate; but with its course beyond the Forum of Constantine we have not to do here. The Milium, opposite to the S.W. corner of the atrium of St. Sophia, must have stood on the line which

<sup>1</sup> Malalas, 476, 21. (So Theophanes).

<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary to argue here against the untenable view of M. Paspâtès, which has been universally condemned by competent critics. (His mistake was partly due to the confusion of the Augusteum with the Forum of Constantine; a mistake partly derived from Labarte). See my paper in *Scottish Review*, April 1894, on the *Great Palace of Constantinople*; Lethaby and Swainson, *S. Sophia*, p. 7 *sqq.* Mr. Grosvenor in his recent work on 'Constantinople' (2 vols. 1895), a work which has very little archaeological value, adheres to the view of his master, M. Paspâtès, as if it were an established and ac-

cepted fact. But then he is totally ignorant of the investigations of MM. Strzygowski and Forchheimer on the cisterns of Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> This mistake was made by Labarte, and before him by Ducange, who was guilty of a triangular confusion; namely, the senaton of the Forum = the senaton of the Augusteum = the Basilica. This has been fully pointed out by Bieliaev in his important article, *Chram Bogoroditsy Chalkopratsiskoi v Konstantinopolie*, in the *Lietopis* for 1892 of the Hist. Phil. Society of the University of Odessa (Viz. Otdiel. i.); p. 104-5.



Sampson, the Church of St. Irene, and the Xenôn of Eubulos. The Irene and Sampson are still there.

§ 15. It is different when we come to the buildings which were situated westward, on either side of the Mesê, between the Augusteum and the Forum.<sup>1</sup> Here we must be content with approximate and conjectural results. We have only a fixed line and a fixed point, in relation to which we have to attempt to group a number of edifices which have been destroyed. The fixed line is the direction of the Mesê; the fixed point is the position of the Basilica.

The site of the Imperial Stoa or Basilica, which contained the Library, is identified by the Cistern Basilica or Jeré batân Serai. This identity, recognised by Gyllius, has been completely established by Strzygovski.<sup>2</sup> Procopius tells how Justinian built the cistern, and gives the valuable information that the cistern was laid on the south side of the great quadrilateral peristyle court of the Basilica.<sup>3</sup> We may infer from this that the greater part of the Basilica buildings were to the north of Jeré batân Serai, and that it did not reach down to the Mesê.

The Basilica is described as 'behind the Milium' by the anonymous author of the Patria,<sup>4</sup> and Zonaras<sup>5</sup> states that it was 'very close to the Chalkoprateia.' The proximity comes out in the fire of A.D. 476. That fire began in the Chalkoprateia and destroyed the Basilica and 'both the stoai.'<sup>6</sup> What are both the stoai? and was the quarter of the Chalkoprateia north of the Basilica, or between the Basilica and the Mesê?

The position of the Church of the Virgin in Chalkoprateia, which was important in the court ceremonies, has received an elaborate discussion recently from Bieliaev.<sup>7</sup> He shows clearly that it was on the north side of the Mesê, and that the Emperor when, in passing from the Forum of Constantine to the Palace, he visited this church, turned to the left from the Mesê in order to reach it. He also thinks that the church was quite close to the Portico which ran along the north side of the Mesê; but his arguments are not decisive.<sup>8</sup> It cannot be determined from the data of the *De Caerimoniis* how far the Emperor had to proceed up the street to the left<sup>9</sup> before he reached the Chalkoprateia. Those data are not inconsistent with another view which places the Chalkoprateia close to the north-west of St. Sophia,

<sup>1</sup> I shall use 'Forum' *simpliciter*, as Byzantine writers did, for the Forum of Constantine; *ὁ φόρος* is regularly used thus, *e.g.* in Theophanes. For this use cp. Bieliaev in the Odessa *Lietopis*, 1894, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Constantinopel, by P. Forchheimer and I. Strzygovski (1893), p. 177-180. Cp. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique*, p. 66-7. Strzygovski falls into error in interpreting a passage of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (i. 165) concerning the second procession on the feast of the Annunciation. He places the Antiforum at the Augus-

teum, whereas it means of course the approach to the Forum (of Constantine), and he takes the Church of St. Constantine in the Forum for the Church of St. Sophia (p. 179).

<sup>3</sup> See *De Aedificiis*, i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Banduri, 29. Codinus, 39.

<sup>5</sup> xv. 3, (iii. p. 340, Dind.).

<sup>6</sup> Cedrenus, i. 616 = Zonaras, xiv. 2 (p. 257).

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* in the *Lietopis* of Odessa, 1892.

<sup>8</sup> p. 101.

<sup>9</sup> ἀριστερὸν ἐκκλίνας, Const. Porph., i. p. 169.

and thus north of the Basilica. This view is held by Mordtmann who identifies the Church of the Virgin with the Mosque of Zeineb Sultan,<sup>1</sup> and is also suggested on other grounds by Krasno-sel'tzev.<sup>2</sup> To this question we shall return again.

§ 16. The anonymous author of the *Patria*, advancing from the Augusteum to the Forum, speaks successively of the following buildings:<sup>3</sup> the Milium, the Church of St. John the Apostle, the Church of St. Theodore Σφορακίου, the Octagon, and the Palace of Lausus. It is left indeterminate which of these buildings is to the south and which to the north of the Mesê. The position of the Church of St. John (Diippius) can be pretty confidently placed south-west of St. Sophia, south-east of the Basilica, and not far from the Milium;<sup>4</sup> but it does not concern us at present. The Octagon he describes as close to the Basilica;<sup>5</sup> and this agrees with the notice of the Paschal Chronicler that it lay between the portico of the Regia (that is, the Basilica) and the basilica of the skindressers.<sup>6</sup> The most probable inference is that it was west of the Basilica. It could hardly have been south, for then it would have been adjacent to the Mesê and there would hardly have been room for the basilica of the skindressers. Assuming then provisionally that it lay west of the Basilica, we might place the Church of St. Theodore provisionally south of the Octagon, that is, between the Octagon and the Mesê. This would suit the order of the Anonymus, quoted above, where St. Theodore is reached before the Octagon.<sup>7</sup>

§ 17. We now come to the Palace of Lausus, as to which new views have been recently put forward. It was close to the Mesê, but the question is, was it on the north or on the south side? The anonymous topographer leaves it open. Mordtmann places it on the south side; but Bieliaev and Strzygovski have independently argued that it was on the north side.

Bieliaev<sup>8</sup> has derived his view from passages in the *De Caerimoniis*. 'Like the Chalkoprateian Church, the House of Lausus was on the right side of Middle Street, to one going along it from the Augusteum to the Forum of Constantine, and lay near the right-hand portico.' The passages in the *De*

<sup>1</sup> Esquisse top., p. 4. He quotes Antony of Novgorod, the Russian traveller, who says that 'going towards the Hippodrome [from the Forum] under the covered portico of Eubulus, we meet the Church of the Mother of God, containing the marble table, on which our Lord celebrated the Sacrament.' Is the portico of Eubulus the north portico of the Mesê? In any case, it is not necessary to conclude that the Church was adjacent to the Mesê. It is enough that the traveller reached it by a street off the Mesê.

<sup>2</sup> *Zamietka po voprosu o miestopolozenii Chal-kopratiiskago khrama v Konstantinopolie*, in the Odessa *Lietopis* of 1894, p. 309-316.

<sup>3</sup> Banduri, 27 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Mordtmann, p. 66, cf. his plan.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ τετραδίσιον ὀκτάγωνον πλῆσιον τῆς βασιλικῆς.

<sup>6</sup> p. 621.

<sup>7</sup> The position is discussed by Mordtmann, p. 67. He places it *north* of the Octagon, but I fail to see the evidence. In any case Gyllius was wrong in seeking it on the western slope of the third hill, near the Vêfa Meidani (i. 11, p. 58). Ducange's notice does not help us (*Descr. Urb. Const.*, p. 139-40). The Anonymus (Banduri 53) places the perfume market near the Octagon *συνεγγὺς τοῦ ἁγ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σφορακίου*.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 103.



*Cerimoniis* describe the progress of the Emperor from the Forum to the Chalkoprateian Church. The Emperor having passed through the Antiforum 'enters the portico near the Lausus and from there goes' to the Chalkoprateian Church.<sup>1</sup> If the weather is bad, he goes to the Forum (from the Milion) 'by the portico,' and 'comes down again by the same portico and the Lausus, and turning to the left goes to the Chalkoprateia.'<sup>2</sup> It must be certainly admitted that *prima facie* it would be natural to understand the northern portico of the Mesê; and this would seem to imply that the Lausus was at the northern side of the Mesê, close to the street which turned northward to the Chalkoprateia.

We have however another totally different indication. The Church of St. Euphemia ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ was west of the Hippodrome.<sup>3</sup> It was situated ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πλῆσιον τοῦ Λαύσου.<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely that the definition πλῆσιον τοῦ Λαύσου would be used, if the Lausus had been north of the Mesê. The Church of St. Euphemia was probably south-west of the Hippodrome.<sup>5</sup>

The indication of the proximity of the Palace of Lausus to the cistern of Philoxenus, which supplied it with water,<sup>6</sup> is unfortunately of no use, as the cistern of Philoxenus has not been found. It used to be identified with the Bin bir dirék,<sup>7</sup> but this view has been upset by Strzygovski.<sup>8</sup> The cistern of Philoxenus was certainly close to the Forum, and adjoined the church of St. Aquilina; and Strzygovski concludes, by combining the Anonymus of Banduri with statements of the Paschal Chronicler relating to the Nika riot, that the Lausus was on the north side of the Mesê. The force of the data in regard to the Nika riot will be appreciated below.

Certainly, the most important passages seem to be most satisfactorily explained by the view that the Lausus was on the north side of the Mesê; and perhaps the passage of the Synaxarion may be brought into unison by supposing that part of the palace of Antiochos reached the Mesê and faced the palace of Lausus.

§ 18. One building still remains to be considered, the Praetorium. To reach the Praetorium from the Palace, one proceeded along the Mesê past the Palace of Lausus.<sup>9</sup> It was apparently on the Mesê, between the Lausus and the Forum.<sup>10</sup> Moreover it was close to the Church of the Forty Martyrs, which was in the Mesê.<sup>11</sup> But the Anonymus of Banduri seems to place this

<sup>1</sup> Const. Porph., i. p. 165. καὶ εἰσέρχεται ἐν τῷ ἐμβόλῳ πλῆσιον τοῦ Λαύσου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε ἀπέρχεται κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Ducange, *op. cit.* p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Synaxaria, July 11.

<sup>5</sup> Mordtmann, *loc. cit.*, and plan.

<sup>6</sup> Cedrenus, i. 564.

<sup>7</sup> Gyllius, p. 127. So Mordtmann.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 170 *sqq.*

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Theophanes, p. 239, 9, ἀπερχομένου εἰς

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τὸ πραιτώριον ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Πράσινοι εἰς τὸ Λαύσον.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. the account of the fire in A.D. 603, in Chron. Pasch. p. 695: ἐκαύθη ἡ μέση ἀπὸ τῶν Λαύσου καὶ τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως ἕως τῆς ἄρκας ἂντικρυ τοῦ φόρου Κωνσταντίνου. This *Arca* comes in the Nika riot. In Const. Porph., i., p. 56, the Praetorium is a station between the Forum and the Milium.

<sup>11</sup> Theoph. p. 267, 31.

church to the west of the Forum of Constantine and near the Forum Tauri.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is clearly a mistake. There is a passage in the Alexiad of Anna Komnêna which leaves no doubt that the Church of the XL Martyrs was east of the Forum. The Comnene ladies meet Alexius in the Forum and having taken leave of him made all haste 'to the temple of the Great Sophia.' Close to the precinct of the Forty Saints they were met by the tutor of Botaneiatês.<sup>2</sup> Mordtmann places the church close to the Türbé of Mahmud, whose site marks the entrance to the Forum of Constantine.<sup>3</sup>

The site of the Praetorium has been discussed by M. Paspâtês in his *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*.<sup>4</sup> He thought that he had found its ruins near the Church of St. Anastasia, which he successfully identified with the Mechmet Pasha Tzamii, south-west of the Hippodrome.<sup>5</sup> But his arguments prove nothing. He points to several passages which show that to reach the Praetorium from the Sophian port one had to go up; but this datum would suit many sites. I have seldom seen a weaker piece of topographical identification.<sup>6</sup>

§ 19. From Procopius, John Lydus, and Malalas, one would infer that there were two distinct conflagrations, of which the first consumed buildings around the Augusteum, and the second raged along the Mesê and especially among buildings north of the Mesê.

(1) 'The city,' says Procopius, 'was invaded by fire. And the sanctuary of Sophia, and the Bath of Zeuxippus, and the parts of the Imperial Palace from the Propylaea to the so-called house of Ares, were burnt and destroyed.' That is the first group. (2) 'And besides there were burnt at the same time [*i.e.* on the same occasion; not "simultaneously"] the great porticoes (*στοαί*) reaching up to the Agora named from Constantine, and many houses of rich men, and large property.' That is the second group.

<sup>1</sup> p. 48: Forum; Artopolion; palace of Toxaras; Church of Forty Martyrs; Anemodulion; forum Tauri. Cp. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 70 ed. Reifferscheid.

<sup>3</sup> p. 69. 'Une citerne à l'ouest de Bin bir dirék, en face du tombeau de Sultan Mahmoud, paraît marquer l'emplacement de l'église des XL martyrs de Nicopolis.' Cp. plan.

<sup>4</sup> p. 368 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> p. 364 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> p. 371-2. Nor is there any proof of his statement that the house of Probus was near the Praetorium (p. 372). The texts which he cites—like so many of this antiquarian's citations—are irrelevant. This identification of Paspâtês is, I observe, also rejected by G. Laskin, in his paper, *Zamietki po drevnostyam Konstantinopolia*, in the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, iii., p. 339. Laskin places the Praetorium between the Augusteum and the Forum, but I

do not see how the passage in Chron. Pasch. (*loc. cit.*) proves that it was on the north side of the Mesê; for this, I suppose, is what he means by saying that it was 'on the other side of the street' from the Great Palace.—Laskin thinks that the Great Embolos built by Arcadius opposite to the Praetorium (Theoph., p. 74, 23) is the *Cherni Veliki Ubol* of Anthony of Novgorod. It is noteworthy that Kondakov (in *Vizantiskii Tserkvi i Pamiatniki Konstantinopolia*, 1886, p. 132) identifies this Black Embolos with the μακρὸς ἔμβολος τοῦ Μαυριανοῦ. But the Embolos of Maurianus was at the other side of the Forum, as is proved by Const. Porph., *de Cer.*, p. 156 (cf. Mordtmann, p. 7). The Black Embolos was near St. Anastasia, which was said to be in the region of Maurianus (S.W. of the Hippodrome), which must be clearly distinguished from the Portico of Maurianus,

(1) 'The fire,' says Lydus, 'beginning with the Entrance to the Palace, spread from it to the chief Sanctuary [St. Sophia], thence to the senate-house in the Augusteum, and from it to the Zeuxippos' [here an antiquarian digression]. This is the first group. (2) When these were consumed,<sup>1</sup> 'the porticoes up to the Agora of Constantine' were ravaged, and 'the adjacent buildings, north and south thereof, were naturally reduced to ashes.' This closely corresponds to the second group of Procopius, and one suspects that Lydus had the work of Procopius before him. But he adds to the first group the senate-house, which Procopius omits.

(1) Malalas, as represented by his epitomator, notices the conflagration of the first group and connects it with the night of Jan. 13:—*ἡ χαλκὴ τοῦ παλατίου ἕως τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ δημόσιος ἐμβόλος*—to which he adds on the following day *μέρος τοῦ δημοσίου ἐμβόλου ἕως τοῦ Ζευξίππου*. The original notice of Malalas, from which this is abbreviated, can, as we have seen, be made out with the help of Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicler. The important point is that the 'public portico' is the portico of the Augusteum, not of the Mesê. The phrase *ἕως τῶν σχολῶν* evidently comes to much the same thing as the *ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἀρεως οἶκον* of Procopius, and means the parts of the palace adjacent to the Chalkê on the east side. (2) The second group, not preserved in the Oxford epitome, is preserved partly in the Escorial fragment—more fully in the Paschal Chronicler (see above § 9).

Now while our text of Malalas preserves the date of the first conflagration (13—14 January), the Paschal Chronicler preserves the date and circumstances of the other conflagration (having, no doubt, derived these facts from Malalas). It took place on Saturday, Jan. 17. This fire spread from the Octagon, and was the work of the soldiers.

But there was yet another group of buildings consumed by fire, of which Procopius, Lydus, and our Malalas say nothing. We learn about this group from the Paschal Chronicler and Theophanes (who are confirmed by the enumerations of other writers); and there is reason to believe that we should have learned about it from the original Malalas. This group consists of the Church of St. Irene, the Xenodochia of Sampson and Eubulus, and the baths of Alexander; and according to the Paschal Chronicle this conflagration occurred on Friday, Jan. 16.

§ 20. We have thus three distinct conflagrations:

- (1) Jan. 13—14: Augusteum buildings, including St. Sophia;
- (2) Jan. 16: buildings north of St. Sophia;
- (3) Jan. 17: Octagon, adjacent buildings, porticoes of Mesê, buildings south of Mesê.

<sup>1</sup> *τῶν δὲ τηλικούτων σωμάτων εἰς πῦρ μεταβαλόντων*, p. 266, 1. (Possibly *σωμάτων* should be *δωμάτων*.)

The order and the details are best preserved in the Paschal Chronicle (except in regard to the date of (1)). Procopius and Lydus preserve the order of (1) and (3), but omit (2). Theophanes falls into the curious mistake of changing the order to (3) (1) (2); and this mistake demands explanation.

Another building, passed over by Procopius<sup>1</sup> and Lydus, is stated by Malalas, the Paschal Chronicler, and Theophanes to have been burnt. I refer to the Praetorium. But, strange to say, its conflagration is connected with group (1) by Malalas,<sup>2</sup> with group (2) by the Paschal Chronicler, with group (3) by Theophanes. This is a very interesting question.

Now it is clear that topographically the Praetorium would belong to group (3); for we have seen that it was close to the Mesê and not far from the Forum. But, on the other hand, the burning of the Praetorium cannot be connected with the burning of group (3); for (a) it was not accidentally burned but deliberately fired by the people, and (b) Theophanes himself, following Malalas, places it as the first building burnt, whereas group (3) was burnt last. The circumstances of the outbreak of the riot do not permit us to doubt the statement of Malalas that the first outrage was the burning of the Praetorium. On the other hand it must not be imagined that the flames which consumed the Praetorium were continuous with those which consumed the buildings of group (1). The two fires were quite distinct. Having set fire to the Praetorium, near the Forum, the mob proceeded to the Augusteum and set fire to the Entrance of the Palace (cp. the words of Lydus).

We now come to the statement of the Paschal Chronicle, which, as it is generally read, is absurd. 'On Friday the demes went to the Praetorium and set it on fire; and the roofs of the two imperial houses were burnt, and of the Praetorium only the archives (*μόνον—ὅπου τὰ σκρίνια*). For a north wind blew and chased the fire out from the Praetorium, and the bath of Alexander was burnt, and the Xenon of Eubulus in part and St. Irene,' &c.

As we have seen, the Praetorium was not near St. Irene and the other buildings mentioned.<sup>3</sup> These edifices were north-east of the Praetorium; the Praetorium was not north of them, as the sense of the passage, thus read, would require. The mistake lies in the division of the sentences; there should be a full period after the words *ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἐδίωξεν*. 'Only a part of the Praetorium was burnt, for a north wind blew the flames away from it [down towards the harbour of Sophia]. And [a totally different conflagration] the bath of Alexander,' &c.

My interpretation may be supported by the notice of Zonaras, who is

<sup>1</sup> He mentions the *δεσμοθήριον*, but not as burnt. See below.

<sup>2</sup> Kalligas on the strength of this, neglecting all other topographical data, represents the fire as spreading from the Praetorium to the adjacent Palace of Constantine (Great Palace) p. 340. But his study is useless so far as topography is concerned.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 62, thought that the *πραιτώριον* here meant was that of the Praet.

Prefect of the East (*Reichsjustizministerium*), not of the Prefect of the city; and he is silently followed by Kalligas, p. 344. There is no foundation for this view. It may be noted that Kalligas seems to have used the plan of Schmidt, which is hopelessly astray, but has two redeeming features—the distinction of the Forum from the Augusteum, and the position of the Praetorium (of the Pref. of the city) near the Forum. In the latter point Kalligas deserts his guide.

using a different source. He mentions the detail that soldiers set fire to houses from which men and women were assailing them with stones, sherds and every missile that came to hand; that a strong wind blew, carried the flames, and burnt to ashes many fine buildings. He then mixes up groups (1) and (2). But I think we are justified in inferring that the conflagration of group (2) was due to the firing of houses north of the Xenodochion of Eubulus, the fire being propagated by the same north wind which averted the flames from the Praetorium.

The conclusion is that on the night of Jan. 13, the demes, wroth at receiving no answer from the praefect, set the Praetorium on fire. But it was only partly burnt;<sup>1</sup> and on Friday Jan. 16, they again hurled brands into it; but this time the north wind hindered the attempt from being more than a partial success.

§ 20. It is manifest that Theophanes has here ventured to exercise a very unusual independence of judgment. On the strength of his own knowledge of the topography of Constantinople, he has permitted himself to alter what he found in his source. He found the burning of the Praetorium mentioned first in close connexion with that of the buildings of the Augusteum, and secondly in apparent connexion with that of the buildings north of St. Sophia. Rejecting these (only apparent) connexions as inconsistent with the facts of topography, he took upon himself to establish a juxtaposition between the Praetorium and the buildings of group (3) which are actually near it.

Theophanes has also taken another liberty with his source. St. Sophia was the connecting link between groups (1) and (2), since it formed the north side of the Augusteum and was next-door to the Sampson. Its conflagration (Malalas; Chron. Pasch.) was connected with the conflagration of group (1); but Theophanes has transferred it to group (2). He seems to have thought it more natural that the fire should have leapt from the Sampson to the Church, than from the Senate to the Church.<sup>2</sup>

§ 21. A word may still be said on the third conflagration (Jan. 17) which began with the Octagon, reached the neighbouring church of St. Theodore, and spread to the Mesê, consuming among other buildings the Lausus-palace and St. Aquilina. It is to be presumed that the fire was spread by the same north wind which blew the day before. This suggests (*a*) that the Octagon was not north of the Basilica, otherwise the flames would have caught the

<sup>1</sup> Procopius (p. 120) mentions that at the beginning of the revolt the rioters went to the δεσμωτήριον and loosed the prisoners. It was the δεσμωτήριον of the Praetorium. The fact that Procopius does not say that it was burnt down may be reconciled with Malalas by supposing that only a small part was burnt; so that it was food for flames again on Friday.

<sup>2</sup> The Continuator of Zacharias of Mytilene has a curious notice. He places the burning of St. Sophia after the proclamation of Hypatius and says that it was set on fire (apparently by Justinian's adherents) in order to disperse the people. There is clearly a confusion with the Octagon which was set on fire by the soldiers.

Basilica ; and (b) that St. Theodore was south of the Octagon. Now if, as is probable (see above § 15) the quarter of the Chalkoprateia was north of the Basilica, it seems certain that the street along which the Emperor proceeded, when he turned to the left from the Mesê to reach the Chalkoprateian Church, ran between the Basilica (on the right) and the Octagon (on the left). As the Lausus marked the place where the street abutted on the Mesê, that palace would be south of the Octagon,—the Church of St. Theodore (conjecturally) standing between them. If these inferences are right, the fire first reached St. Theodore, then Lausus, then ran along the northern portico of the Mesê, taking St. Aquilina in its course, and finally crossing the arch at the Antiforum ; but meanwhile it might already have been blown across by the wind to the southern portico, directly from the Lausus.

§ 22. I ought to add that, so far as the notices of the Nika-riot are concerned, they seem to me to be reconcilable with the position of the Palace of Lausus either north or south of the Mesê ; for we know (cp. especially Lydus) that part at least of the southern side of the Mesê was burned as well as the northern. I therefore do not agree with Strzygovski (see above § 17) that the facts of the Nika-riot taken along with the anonymous writer of the *Patria* prove that the Lausus was north of the Mesê. It is the arguments adduced by Bieliaev from the *De Cerimoniis* that seem to me to carry weight.

On the other hand, the facts seem rather to point to the conclusion that the Praetorium was on the *south* side of the Mesê ; otherwise, lying in the line of the fire which swept continuously from the Lausus to the Forum, it would have been presumably mentioned in connexion with this conflagration. Theophanes confirms this by the form of his erroneous notice. "The Praetorium was burnt, and the porticoes from the Camara of the Forum of Constantine up to the Chalkê." The circumstance that the Praetorium was on the south side of the Mesê suggested the description "up to the Chalkê" which would strictly be only appropriate to the *southern* ἔμβολος.

§ 23. The course of the events of the memorable 8 days, Jan. 11–19, A.D. 532 may then be arranged as follows:—

**Sunday, Jan. 11.** Ἀκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον in the Hippodrome. Altercation of Justinian with the Greens.

In the evening a number of criminals, both Blues and Greens, are executed by the Prefect of the City, clearly in consequence of the scene in the circus and with the political purpose of showing the Emperor's impartiality to both Demes.

The rescue of a Blue and a Green to the Asylum of St. Laurence.

[The interval of a day gives the Demes time to concert joint action to obtain the pardon of the two condemned men.]

**Tuesday, Jan. 13.** Horse-races in the Hippodrome. Vain appeal to the Emperor for mercy and open declaration of the union of the *Prasino-venetoi*.



In the evening new demand for reprieve from the Prefect of the City. On receiving no answer, the Praetorium is attacked and set on fire, and the prisoners are let out of the Praetorium prison.

Then the rioters march to the Augusteum to attack the Palace.

Conflagrations in that quarter during the night and following day. (For the buildings burnt see above § 19).

**Wednesday, Jan. 14.** The riot which had begun with a demand for a reprieve now develops into an insurrection against the oppression of the administration. There is an outcry against John, Eudaemon, and Tribonian. Justinian yields, but it is too late. The insurgents are determined to depose him.

The rush to the house of Probus, which probably took place on this day, is significant. Hypatius and Pompeius who were in the Palace could not be got at; so the people sought Probus. This incident seems to mark the stage in the riot at which the overthrow of Justinian became the object of the rioters.

**Thursday, Jan. 15.** Belisarius and his Heruls and Goths issue from the Palace; fighting in the streets.

Perhaps the intervention of the clergy mentioned by Zonaras.

**Friday, Jan. 16.** Second attack on the Praetorium.

Fighting continued; conflagration breaks out in streets north of the Xenon of Eubulus, and is blown southward by north wind. (For buildings burnt see § 19).

**Saturday, Jan. 17.** Fighting continued. Rioters occupy the Octagon. Soldiers set fire to it, and the conflagration spreads south and south-west (see § 19).

Evening, Hypatius and Pompeius leave Palace.

**Sunday, Jan. 18.** Before sunrise Justinian appears in the Hippodrome. His oath before the assembled populace. The solemnity is a failure, Hypatius is proclaimed, and Justinian thinks of fleeing. Council in the Palace, at which the view of Theodora prevails.

The suppression of the revolt by the massacre in the Hippodrome.

**Monday, Jan. 19.** Execution of Hypatius and Pompeius, before day-break.<sup>1</sup> (According to the Continuator of Zacharias of Mytilene, Justinian wished to spare them but Theodora interfered; "swearing by God and by him, she urged him to kill them").

J. B. BURY.

<sup>1</sup> 'At night,' Victor Tonn., cp. above § 4.



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pretiosa in conspectu eius morte IIII. idus martias<sup>52</sup> expectat feliciter in ecclesia sancti Petri, cuius sedit episcopatum annos XIII, menses VI, dies X, ante eius offitii secretarium sepultus corpore<sup>53</sup> dormit in pace. A quo est resuscitandus in gloriam. Cuius corporis et sanguinis secreta nobis initiavit sacramenta, qui solus remotis omnibus hostiis carnalibus tollit immolatus omnium peccata, cum quibus omnibus in unitate deitatis sue semper est regnaturus in secula seculorum amen.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THEOPHYLAKTOS SIMOKATTA.

THE text of M. de Boor's new edition of Theophylaktos<sup>1</sup> is based on a Vatican manuscript (977) of the eleventh or twelfth century, which also contains the Breviarium of Nikêphoros, edited in 1880 by the same scholar. The value of M. de Boor's work may be estimated by the fact that Pontanus had used for his text only one late Munich manuscript. The requirements of the student of language as well as of the student of history are consulted by two copious indexes.

A careful reading of the 'Ecumenical History'—things 'ecumenical' were the mode in the days of Maurice and Joannês Nêsteutês—in the new edition led me to discover certain serious chronological difficulties that beset the order of events in the second half of the reign of Maurice. At that time the forces of the empire were engaged in operations against the Avars and Slavs in the provinces of Illyricum and Thrace. The difficulty is to determine the dates of these campaigns, and to bring Theophanês into congruity with Theophylaktos.

The restoration of Chosroes Eberwiz to the throne of the Sassanids, by the assistance of Maurice, in the summer of 591, put an end to the Persian war that had broken out in 572. The first step of the government was to transfer the armies that had served on the oriental frontier to the Balkan peninsula, which suffered almost every year from the hostilities of the Avars or the plundering incursions of the Slavs, who were already beginning to settle in cis-Danubian territory. Subsequently to the transference of the armies the emperor Maurice made a progress in Thrace. Now Theophylaktos places these two events in the closest temporal proximity—*τὰς δυνάμεις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ὡς τάχιστα μετεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἀγχιάλον τὴν ἐκδημίαν παρασκευάζεται* (v. 16, p. 218)—whereas Theophanês places them in separate years. According to Theophanês, namely, the soldiers were transported

<sup>52</sup> id. mar. *cod.*

<sup>53</sup> corporis *cod.*

<sup>1</sup> *Theophylacti Simocattæ Historia*, ed. C. de Boor (Teubner, 1887).

to Europe in the year of the world 6082, which ran from 1 Sept. 589 to 1 Sept. 590, and the progress of Maurice took place in the following year, 6083—that is (as it took place after the restoration of Chosroes), in the autumn of 591. The first statement of Theophanês as to the date of the transference of the army can of course not be accepted without reserve, but there is no difficulty in supposing that a portion of the army was removed from Asia in 590, and that Theophanês omits to mention the removal of the remainder in 591. In this way we can reconcile the two accounts. Theophylaktos tells us that the year in which these events took place was the ninth year of Maurice (p. 218), *i.e.* between 13 Aug. 590 and 13 Aug. 591 (almost coincident with *annus mundi* 6083). We are consequently entitled to conclude that the recall of the Roman forces which assisted Chosroes and the progress of Maurice took place in the summer of 591, before the 13th day of August. Theophylaktos, however, has been guilty of an error which has led Clinton and others to a different conclusion. He says that there was an eclipse of the sun when Maurice was at Hebdomon, a place at a little distance from Constantinople on the way to Herakleia. Astronomical calculation determines that there was an eclipse of the sun on 19 March 592. Hence Clinton places the progress of Maurice in March 592—that is, in the tenth year of Maurice—and he is thus obliged to reject Theophylaktos' statement that it was in the ninth year of Maurice. But it is equally legitimate to suppose that he was mistaken in the date of the eclipse; and this supposition is more scientific because (1) the notice of Theophanês supports the *ἐνατον ἔτος* of Theophylaktos, and (2) the language of Theophylaktos forbids the assumption that a winter intervened between the recall of the army and the progress of Maurice.

The course of the narrative naturally leads us to imagine that the siege of Singidon, the operations of the general Priskos and his defeat at Herakleia by the Chagan, took place immediately after the return of Maurice to Constantinople, in August and September 591. In that case *μετοπάρου ἀρχομένου* of vi. 6 would mean the late autumn of 591, and *ἦρος ἀρχομένου*, immediately below, would mean the spring of 592. And thus the expedition of Priskos against the Slavs would fall in 592. The account of this expedition extends in Theophylaktos from p. 230 to p. 239, ed. De Boor. Priskos receives a letter from the emperor, with a mandate that the army should spend the winter—*τὴν χειμέριον ὥραν* (p. 239)—in the territory of the barbarians; that is, the winter of 592–3. Immediately after this Maurice deposes Priskos from the command in favour of his own brother Petros. Priskos, however, commences operations—spring 593—and gains some successes before he hears of his recall; then he returns to the capital (p. 245), and Petros proceeds to take the command. The campaign in which Petros proves his incom-

petence we naturally assume to occupy the rest of the year 598, and place his deposition and the reappointment of Priskos (p. 254) at the close of that year.

But at this point Theophylaktos gives us a definite date, which puts us completely out of our reckoning. Immediately after his notice of the return of Petros and the appointment of Priskos he says (vii. 6, p. 254): *πρὸ τεττάρων τοίνυν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν (πρὸς γὰρ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἱστορίας αὐθις γινόμεθα) Ἰωάννης ὁ τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνων τὸν τῇδε βίον ἀπέλιπεν.*

Joannēs Jejunator became patriarch of Byzantium on 12 April 582, and we learn from the 'Brief Chronography' of Nikêphoros that he held that office for thirteen years and five months. His death consequently falls about 11 Sept. 595. Hence the history of Theophylaktos must have already reached the end of 598, when the notice occurs that the patriarch John died four years ago. But in following the course of the narrative we had not succeeded in reaching further than the end of 593—a difference of five years. We may reduce the difference by one year, if we suppose that Theophylaktos accepted a different date from that given by Nikêphoros for the death of John, viz. September 594; for such a date seems to be implied by Theophanēs, who mentions that Kyriakos (John's successor) was bishop of Constantinople in 6087 = 1 Sept. 594–1 Sept. 595.

To explain this incongruity two alternative suppositions are possible. Either the historian has omitted to mention the winter seasons, which formed breaks in the campaigns and serve to the reader as a chronological guide, and has thereby run several years into one, or else there is a gap in the text. In the former case we must suppose that Theophylaktos was ignorant himself of the precise chronology, and consciously left it undetermined.

Turning to Theophanēs, whose sole authority for these wars was Theophylaktos, we find that he has hammered out the metal thin, so as to make it extend over the years which are not accounted for. The first campaign of Priskos and the battle of Herakleia took place in 6084, that is, 592; the expedition against the Slavs is placed in 593, the mission of Tatimer and the recall of Priskos in 594. The campaign of Petros is drawn out to extend over three years—595, 596, 597—and thus the deposition of Petros at the end of 597 agrees with the date of Theophylaktos, assuming that he assigned the decease of Joannēs Jejunator to 594.

The question is whether Theophanēs used a source, not accessible to Theophylaktos, which indicated these chronological divisions, or whether, in order to suit the plan of his chronicle, he exercised his own judgment in parcelling out the events recorded by Simokatta. We cannot hesitate to reject the first alternative; for not only has no hint come down to us of the existence of such

a source,<sup>2</sup> but the facts do not render the assumption necessary. Theophanès presents us with nothing more than an excerpt of Theophylaktos; he records the same events in the same order. Moreover a very remarkable event took place in 597, which the historian of Maurice does not mention—namely, the siege of Thessalonica by the Avars, of which an account has come down to us in the ‘Life of St. Demetrios of Thessalonica.’ This event is also omitted by Theophanès. We may, then, take it for granted that the only sources accessible to Theophanès were the history of Theophylaktos, and possibly official documents; but the latter would hardly have furnished much information about the Avaric wars. The conclusion is that the division of events from 592 to 597 given by Theophanès is quite arbitrary, and if we compare it in detail with his source we shall hardly consider it very plausible.

Theophylaktos must have derived his facts mainly from the oral evidence of persons who witnessed the course of the campaigns, and, living in Egypt, he may not have been able to inform himself accurately on all the details. There is no trace of a lacuna in his history; the narrative flows smoothly. It follows that the writer was ignorant of the exact years in which the various events fell; and though he was not candid enough to say so directly, he was not dishonest enough to supply from his imagination the deficiencies of his information. His reticence about the siege of Thessalonica shows that his knowledge of events as well as of dates was defective.<sup>3</sup>

It is not my purpose to make any attempt in this place to rearrange the chronology of the six years elapsing between the progress of Maurice and the reappointment of Priskos. The data are not sufficient for any definite conclusions; but Theophanès is mistaken in lengthening out the period of Petros’ command to three years. If anything can be certain on the subject, it appears to me certain that Petros held the post of general for one year only—namely, the year 597—the year in which Thessalonica was rescued by the miraculous intervention of its patron saint. I hardly think that even Maurice, with all his *opiniâtreté* and all his affection for his kindred, would have tolerated the incompetence of his brother for three years.

For the remaining five years of Maurice’s reign Theophylaktos furnishes us with sufficiently clear chronological indications. The

<sup>2</sup> The only other source could be the chronicle of John Malalas, who, as G. Sotiriadis has lately proved, carried his chronicle down to Phokas. If this be so, what we say of Theophanès will apply to Malalas, who certainly furnished Theophanès with no fact not recorded by Theophylaktos, and who (even if we place him as early as Heraklios) we may assume drew on Theophylaktos for the Avaric wars.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth mentioning that in his digression on the history of the reigns of Justin and Tiberius in bk. iii. Theophylaktos gives a false date for the adoption of Tiberius, naming December in the ninth indiction—that is, 575. The true date is December 574, which falls in the eighth indiction.



campaign of Singidon and the expedition to Dalmatia occupied the year 598. Theophanês places the first of these events in 6090, and the second in 6091; correctly, for the last four months of 598 correspond to the first four months of 6091. After the Dalmatian expedition no military events of any consequence took place for more than eighteen months: *ἐπὶ μῆνας τοιγαροῦν ὀκτώκαίδεκα καὶ περαιτέρω Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ βαρβάροις τοῖς ἀνὰ τὸν Ἰστρον αὐλιζομένοις οὐδὲν ἄξιον συγγραφῆς διαπέπρακται* (vii. 12, p. 266).

Reckoning therefore from October or November 598, we reach March or April 600. The campaigns of Priskos and Komentiolos occupy the year 600, and we must not allow ourselves to be confused by a notice which Theophylaktos inserts in an unsuitable place. Before entering upon the campaigns of 600 he mentions the incident of the man who unsheathed a sword in the forum at Byzantium and used menacing language against Maurice, and assigns the nineteenth year of Maurice as the date. The nineteenth year of Maurice was current from 13 Aug. 600 to 13 Aug. 601, almost corresponding to the year of the world 6093, in which Theophanês places the same event. Thus Theophylaktos here anticipates chronological order. In the early part of the year a treaty is concluded between the Avars and Romans (p. 273), but it is soon broken. The summer of 600 is marked (p. 285). Komentiolos abode in Philippopolis during the winter and proceeded to Byzantium in the spring of 601; in summer he was reappointed general (p. 290). But although he was nominally general no operations took place in the nineteenth year of Maurice—Aug. 600—Aug. 601 (p. 290). In spite of this assertion Theophanês assigns the victories of Priskos to the year 6093. In this he may be right, for we must not press the words of Theophylaktos to include strictly the latter part of the year 600; they refer, as is evident from the context, to the year 601.

In the twentieth year of Maurice Petros was again appointed general in Europe. He proceeded to Palastolon, a town on the Danube, *καὶ χάρακα ποιησάμενος οὕτω τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν διήνυνεν*. At the beginning of the autumn, *μετοπάρου ἀρχομένου*, he proceeded against the Avars, who had taken up quarters in Dardania (p. 292). Negotiations between the Avar captain, Apsich, and Petros came to nothing, but no hostilities seem to have taken place, and the armies separated, the barbarians proceeding to Constantiola and the Romans to quarters in Thrace. Now it is important to observe that these events must have taken place in 601, not in 602, as Theophanês apparently understood. The twentieth year of Maurice began on 13 Aug. 601, and *θέρους* may refer to the end of that month. The summer and autumn of 602 cannot possibly be meant, as Theophylaktos proceeds to mention them immediately afterwards: *τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐπείγοντος ἀκοὴ γίνεται Μαυρικίῳ, κ.τ.λ.*, and a little further on *ὥρας τοῖνυν μετοπωρινῆς ἐνδημούσης, κ.τ.λ.* He thus implies

without any ambiguity that the army spent the winter 601–2 in Thrace. The narration of the events which led up to the fall of Maurice, occupying the last months of 602, presents no chronological difficulty.

We must call attention to a misstatement of Theophylaktos respecting the marriage of Maurice's eldest son, Theodosios. Having stated (p. 291) that 'Maurice appointed his brother Petros general in the twentieth year of his reign,' he proceeds: *πρὸ τούτου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Θεοδοσίος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς νυμφίος πομπεύεται*. That is, he places the marriage some time before 13 Aug. 601. But we learn from Theophanēs that the event took place in the month of November, in the fifth indiction, which was current from 1 Sept. 601 to 1 Sept. 602; that is, it took place in, and not 'before,' the twentieth year of Maurice. Now, on all events that took place inside the capital Theophanēs is far better informed than Theophylaktos, and on such a matter as the marriage of a member of the imperial house registers were extant from which he could obtain precise information. Theophanēs based his chronology on the years of the world, adopting the Alexandrine era of Panodoros; and he only occasionally dates an event by the current indiction. Now it is a very significant fact, and I do not remember to have seen it noticed, that those events which he honours by mentioning the appropriate indiction are almost invariably connected with the emperor, or the imperial family, or the city of Constantinople. As the indiction system was the official mode of reckoning dates in the Roman empire since the year 312 A.D., the obvious conclusion is that these dates were copied directly from official registers preserved in the praetorium of the prefect of the city. We are therefore bound to accept Theophanēs' date for the marriage of Theodosios; and it is probable that this mistake of Theophylaktos misled Theophanēs into transposing events that happened in 601 to the following year.

Having discovered that the last five years of Maurice's reign, 598 to 602, are satisfactorily accounted for by Theophylaktos, we are now in a position to affirm the hypothesis which we provisionally adopted above—namely, that he placed the deposition of Petros at the end of 597, and consequently believed that Joannēs Nēsteutēs died in 594. There is thus a great gap in the chronology of Theophylaktos from A.D. 593 to 597, and we have no materials to fill it up.

JOHN B. BURY.

#### THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELEANOR OF CASTILE.

ELEANOR of Castile, the gentle and loving wife of Edward I, died on her way to Scotland, whither she was following her husband, on 28 Nov. 1290, at a place described as 'Herdeby iuxta Lincolniam.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 120, copied by Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i. 32

# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Origin of the Turks*<sup>1</sup>

AT this moment, when the decadent condition of the Turkish power is attracting so much attention, it perhaps becomes of more interest than usual to inquire who the Turks really are, and whence they originally came. Moreover, within the last few years important archæological discoveries have been made by Messrs. Jadrintzeff and Heikel in the valleys of the Upper Yenisei and the Upper Orkhon Rivers—not far from the Russo-Chinese frontiers,—which prove incontestably that twelve hundred years ago the primitive Turks had an epic literature of their own, which, if not very extensive, has at least been recorded in a manner durable enough to survive for our perusal until the present day, and circumstantial enough to confirm in the amplest way the statements of the Chinese historians.<sup>2</sup>

Our best authorities upon the ancient Turks are unquestionably the accounts given to us in the histories of the Chinese Sui and T'ang dynasties, covering the periods 580–618 and 618–905. The three hundred years during which these purely native dynasties ruled the Celestial Empire were preceded by a period of intermittent anarchy, during which, for over two centuries, North China was ruled by Tungusic Tartars. The history of the leading family of these—the Wei dynasty;—the celebrated compendium of Ma Twan-lin; the standard Chinese annals known as the 'Kang-mu;' and the 'Lieh-tai Ki-sz' or 'Records of Successive Dynas-

<sup>1</sup> Word-for-word translations of all that the Early Han History and After Han History have to say upon the ancestors of the Turks (the Hiung-nu) appeared in vols. xx. and xxi. of the *China Review*, accompanied by over 1,700 explanatory notes. I believe this is the only complete translation in existence, Deguignes's *Histoire Générale des Huns* being a mere summary, though a very full one. Mr. Wylie published a literal translation of what the Early Han History had to say (but without notes of importance) in vols. iii. and iv. of the *Anthropological Review*. I have in manuscript a literal translation of all that *Ma Twan-lin* writes about the Hiung-nu, Tungusic Tartars, Turks, Ouigours, Cathayans, &c., with over 3,500 explanatory notes taken from the histories of the *Ts'i*, *Sui*, *T'ang*, and other Chinese or Tartar dynasties, and this manuscript is at the disposal of any society that will obligingly print it. I have also over 1,000 Chinese notes on the subject taken from miscellaneous Chinese works.

<sup>2</sup> A full notice of the literature connected with these discoveries appeared in the *Academy* of 21 Dec. 1895.

ties ; '—together with a number of fragments, poems, biographies, &c., represent our remaining authorities—so far as China alone is concerned. Next in order come the Roman or Byzantine authors,<sup>3</sup> Theophanes the Confessor, Theophylactus Simocatta, Menander Protector, Priscus, and others ; the Persian writer Firdausi ; the Kharismian Sultan Abulghazi ; and the accounts of Zemarchus's mission to the Grand Khan Dizabul. The pith of what these men relate upon the subject of the early Turks is ably summarised by Deguignes in his '*Histoire Générale des Huns.*' Deguignes also gives the substance of what the Chinese have to say, availing himself for this purpose of the translations of d'Herbelot, Rémusat, and the Jesuit missionaries of the eighteenth century.

We certainly know much more about the manners of the ancient Turks before and when they came into contact with the Chinese than we do about those of the ancient Britons before and when they first came into contact with the Romans : but, what with Chinese misprints (especially in their endeavours to reproduce Turkish names), want of critical order in the Chinese arrangement of events, the fact that most prominent Turks not only have several names, but have their titles confused with their names ; what with mistranslations and misconceptions of the Chinese meaning by successive translators ; and what with the comparative inaccessibility of such work as the translators in question have produced ;—our best authorities, that is the Chinese, do not leave any very clear or definite impressions upon the mind of the general reader ; while as to the Byzantine, Persian, and Tartar authors, it is difficult to nail them down to any specific statements of fact which can be verified by comparison with what the Chinese record concerning the same periods, places, and events.<sup>4</sup> There has also been too much of a tendency in

<sup>3</sup> For the Byzantine authorities I depend upon the citations given in Deguignes, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and in such works as those of Schuyler (*Turkestan*). I have added in an appendix more particular notices which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Tozer.

<sup>4</sup> Deguignes is full of contradictory statements, misreadings, and mistakes of all kinds. Notwithstanding this sweeping statement, I must add that I have found him exceedingly useful in correcting my own mistakes. His work is an admirable one : it only requires careful checking, Chinese misprints and defective style being usually the causes of his errors. To take one instance : the Chinese characters for the Turkish sound *teghin* differ by one insignificant stroke only from those representing the sound *tele*. Deguignes has *tele* throughout ; and, although M. Devéria had pointed out several years ago in the *T'oung-pao*, vol. ii., that the true sound was *teghin*, I also decided (in my work entitled *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*) for *tele* ; partly because it was always so printed in my Chinese books, and partly because the learned archimandrite Palladius explained it to be a Tartar word *derc*. Then, again, Deguignes is consistently inconsistent in his use of the words Igour and Ouigour ; he identifies the Haiathals first with one tribe and then the other ; he is provokingly positive in identifying the Geougen of China with the Avars of Europe. The fact is that first translators from the Chinese can never be correct ; we must wait until more is translated, and compare one part of Chinese history with the other ; we must also check the results by the latest European researches, which open up new lights every

those modern writers who have made a special study of Tartar life and history, or who have themselves visited the valleys and steppes which first gave birth to the Turks, to form hasty conclusions and generalisations. Thus, places a thousand miles apart are supposed to be the same; a tribe long extinct is stated to have re-appeared in Europe; on the ground of slight similarity in sound alone, a conquered nation—for instance, the Haiathals—which bore that name before the Turks (so called) came into existence, is connected with a tribe of Ouigours, thousands of leagues away in a different direction, which afterwards conquered the Turks; Turks are confused with Mongols, and Mongols with Tunguses; in short, the whole subject is in a state of wellnigh inextricable chaos and confusion.

The object of this paper is to endeavour to keep fact or positive statements quite separate from conjecture and theory; to quote the different authorities in order of date, and to collate them where they appear to agree; to discuss reasonable probabilities when the absence of positive statement forces us to have recourse to conjecture; and then to proceed, step by step, until we shall have put together a continuous and, as far as may be, intelligible chain of evidence, establishing one point only, the point of origin, in the first instance. A good starting-point will be the date when first the word 'Turk' came into existence. And here, fortunately, we are face to face with the most definite Chinese statements of fact. According to the Chinese, the word 'Turk' was a Turkish word meaning 'helmet,' and was specifically applied to the nomad tribe which formed the original nucleus of the Turkish power, owing to one of the mountain peaks in the range below which the tribe lived having a shape like a rimmed helmet. Now, in the first place, the recently discovered Turkish inscriptions of over a thousand years ago, deciphered by Professor Dr. Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen, and the Russian academician Dr. Radloff, of St. Petersburg, give as the national name the four letters *τ ü ρ κ*, repeated over and over again, and in such a way as in meaning to correspond indubitably with the mutilated Chinese forms *t'u-küe*, *tut-küt*, or *tolkül*, as they sound in different provinces to the ear of to-day. Consequently, there can be no doubt that when the Chinese endeavoured to explain the origin of the tribal name they meant the Turkish word *Türk*, and no other. As to whether the Chinese were correct in saying that *Türk* meant helmet, it may be noted that, according to David's 'Grammaire Turke,' a word having almost exactly that sound is still the Turkish word for 'helmet;' and, according to Rémusat, a word of nearly that sound still means 'a casque' at Constantinople. Abulghazi is also quoted as an authority for the statement that *turkak* means 'a guard.' Dr. Radloff says nothing about a year. Until Chinese history is thoroughly ransacked, we 'sinologists' are all one-eyed amongst the blind.



helmet in his vocabulary (*sub voce* Türk), and Professor Thomsen does not appear to be convinced that there is such a word now, though he admits a Mongol word *tulga*. In any case, the question is one always susceptible of proof: if there is such a word, the link of evidence becomes all the stronger; if not, then this is no proof that it did not once exist, as do many other Turkish words now obsolete. In any case we are distinctly told that it once really existed, whilst two modern authorities of, it is presumed, some generally recognised competence, to a certain extent confirm the statement as above explained. If we inquire whether the Turks really wore helmets, and whether such helmets were likely to have resembled a mountain peak, we find that some of the stone bas-reliefs recently discovered, as above mentioned, do positively represent the Turkish khan himself (amongst others) with a rimmed helmet upon his head; and a peculiar and striking mountain peak might surely as well resemble that as anything else.

The next thing to ask is: who first gave the word 'Turk' to the tribe; and when; and what tribe was it? The Chinese categorically answer all these questions for us. Previously to the establishment in North China of the Tungusic dynasties of which we have spoken above, the Chinese had been engaged in several centuries of warfare with a nomad nation called by them Hiung-nu, or 'Hiung slaves.' To this day the first half of the word is in some parts of China still pronounced *Hün*, and the addendum 'slaves' has a counterpart in the word Wo-nu, or 'Wo slaves'—the Japanese of that time. As usual, the Chinese, in attempting to reproduce a foreign word, have either coupled the essential part of it with a Chinese catchword, or have chosen two Chinese characters representing the whole native sound as nearly as possible, and at the same time possessing a Chinese meaning of reproachful value. The Hiung-nu were, in fact, the Huns,<sup>3</sup> who afterwards appeared as the Hunni in Europe; but already in 92 A.D. a good half of them had been driven west by the Chinese and the Tunguses. One of the Hiung-nu titles was *Tsügü* (as the

<sup>3</sup> This may seem a very unjustifiable conclusion in view of Sir H. H. Howorth's statement in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, vol. iii. p. 398: 'No European scholar of any repute (save perhaps Dr. Latham) connects the Huns with the Hiung-nu. The Huns were . . . a race of Ugrians, led by a caste of another race now represented by some of the Lesghian tribes of the Caucasus.' I have given my reasons in full in the work alluded to in note 4, and I have there also taken great pains to point out the distinction between 'peoples' and 'ruling castes.' Professor V. Thomsen, of Copenhagen, writes to me: 'The real Scythians of the Greeks, or at least the bulk of them, were certainly not Turks, but quite other people: the description you mention does not even apply to the bulk of the ancient Scythians; in later times this name was used in a rather wide and distinct meaning; then perhaps it may have comprised also Turk nations. Even in the time of the great migrations the Huns are kept apart from the Scythians.' As I am now showing that the very idea of 'Turk' only originated in A.D. 543, of course I agree that it is certain that neither Scythians nor Huns could have been Turks.

Chinese try to represent it), and one of the tribes that remained behind when the more northerly hordes fled west took the family name of Tsügü because their chiefs had formerly held that title under the great nomad empire. This tribe or family ruled a small principality in the central part of the modern Chinese province of Kansuh from A.D. 396 to 439; and when the Wei dynasty of Tungusic Tartars crushed this aspiring state, one Asena, with 500 tents, placed himself under the protection of the then dominant nomad power west of the Tunguses, which, following the French translators from whom Gibbon borrows, we may call the Geougen. For 'several generations' Asena and his horde served the Geougen as iron-workers in an iron-producing district, and we are repeatedly and distinctly told that this district was somewhere between what are now called Etzinai and Kokonor, on the borders of, if not actually in, the modern Chinese province of Kansuh. It was *nowhere near the Irtish*, as is invariably stated by modern authors.<sup>6</sup> One of Asena's descendants was Notur or Noturu. As the sequel tells us that Notur's son Tumen founded the Turkish power in A.D. 543, it is open to us to assume that 'several generations,' counting from Asena in A.D. 439 to Tumen in A.D. 543, would make Notur at least the great-grandson of Asena. It was Notur who first applied the word 'Turk' to his people. Lest it should be supposed that we are over-credulous in accepting a mountain name as a fit designation for a tribe, we hasten to state that both of the rival Tungusic nations which assisted the Chinese to drive west their secular masters and enemies the Huns are positively stated to have taken their tribal names from the mountains in which they originally took refuge from Hun or Hiung tyranny.

The Chinese also tell us in positive terms that the Turks were a branch of the Hiung-nu; and we have already seen that the ruling family under whom the Turks lived before they took refuge with the Geougen were themselves Hiung-nu, bearing as a clan name a Hiung-nu title. It is not quite clear whether the majority of the ruling Geougen were of Hun or Tungusic origin. This is a point, however, which further investigation may well succeed in clearing up. It is certain that the hero or founder of the race was a slave—though possibly only a captive slave—and that he was bred up by Tunguses. Slave dynasties were the rule rather than the exception in later Perso-Turkish history. The few Geougen words which the Chinese give us, together with other miscel-

\* Rémusat and Deguignes (I think) were the first to start the Irtish theory, which has been repeated by every other subsequent writer. It would certainly be much more convenient for us to have the early Turks up there; but I have given the fullest proofs in *A Thousand Years of the Tartars* that they certainly did not begin their career there, but on the borders of China. Doubtless kindred tribes always lived on the Irtish, and doubtless the Turks soon found their way thither; but that is another matter altogether.

laneous indications, lead us to suspect a Finnish blend ;<sup>7</sup> but in any case it seems clear that there was more of Hun than of Tungus in the mixture. This particular point, though of importance, is not relevant to our present issue, except in so far as it may explain why the Turks preferred Geougen to Tungusic rule. It is beyond all doubt on other grounds, apart from the specific evidence given above, that the Turks were Hiung-nu or Huns, for quite a number of words—such as *tengri*, ‘heaven ;’ *kutlugh*, ‘happy ;’ *doghri*, ‘virtuous,’ &c., are given by the Chinese as having been common to each nation at intervals of 500 years apart. Moreover, one of the Chinese inscriptions just discovered, bearing Turkish letters on the reverse side, historically connects, in the mind of the Chinese emperor, the visit to China of the Hiung-nu khan in B.C. 51 with the submissiveness of the Turks in A.D. 732.

Hence, leaving aside for the present the irrelevant question whether the Hiung-nu of China are the same people as the Hunni of Europe, it is certain that the Turks, when they first took the national name of Türk, were of Hiung-nu origin ; that the mountains along the lower slopes of which they lived—known to the Chinese, like the Altaï, as ‘Golden Mountains’—were quite close to China, and not near the Irtish as is commonly supposed ; that Notur, the father of their political founder Tumen, first used the name ‘Türk’ as a tribal designation in the first half of the sixth century ; that Notur had precedents for doing this ; that modern philology supports him in a fair measure ; that recent discoveries give us well-preserved specimens of helmets carved in stone ; and that nothing in the recently discovered Turkish inscriptions runs counter to these points in particular, or stultifies any other part of Chinese history in general.

Tumen only reigned for two years : having rendered excellent military service to his masters the Geougen, he thought himself entitled to a Geougen princess. His advances were repelled ; he revolted, overthrew the Geougen empire, and himself assumed the title of *Khakan* or Khan, which had been used for the first time by the Geougen, and seems (in the absence, however, of positive evidence) to have been borrowed by the Geougen from their former masters the Tunguses. The earlier word *Han* or *Khan* (not

<sup>7</sup> The miscellaneous indications to which I refer are the wizard-like practices, which resemble those of the modern Suomi or Finns, as described in the *Revue de Paris* for 1895 ; the strange personal names ; the uncouth manners ; and the fact that the *Yüe-pan* (Hiung-nu) tribes were astonished at their appearance. I have tried in vain to find out what ‘scholars of repute’ mean by ‘Ugrian,’ and I should be glad to have a clear definition of this word. I wrote to one such—a very distinguished authority, who often used the word—and was not at all surprised to find that he had no idea of its origin. So far as I can understand the ethnology of Central and North Asia, there are only two main stocks of language (omitting all Tibetan, Tungus, Corean, or Japanese connexions), the Finnish and the Turkish. These expressions are of course only emblematical, for the Finns do not call themselves Finns, nor the Turks Turks.

*Khakan*, as with the Geougen and Turks) occurs in history, apparently as a Tungusic title; and it is notable that this same single word *Han* is often used by the Chinese in place of the double word *Khakan*.<sup>8</sup> The very full description of the Turkish social life and military organisation given to us by the Chinese historians corresponds entirely with that given to us by the later historians of the life and organisation of the Hiung-nu; with that given to us by western authorities of the life and organisation of the Huns and Avars; and with the positive statements of the Turks themselves, as recorded in the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions recently deciphered.

The mythical stories touching the remote origin of Tumen's ancestors have a certain resemblance to each other, whether in Persian, Chinese, or other dress; but this resemblance, though perhaps sufficient to strengthen the probability of there being some grains of truth in a mass of fiction, is not sufficient to justify our giving an historical place to what at best is but conjecture and tradition. The only thing we can say positively is that they were Hiung-nu, and that their pedigree can be traced through the Tsü-gü family. The history of the Hiung-nu is perfectly well authenticated,<sup>9</sup> but, belonging as it does to an earlier period, requires no further treatment here. The first link in our chain is therefore solidly attached to an historical base. As to positive western statements, Abulghazi mentions one Tumana, Khan of the Turks, and says he had nine sons, one of whom, Zagsu, was father of Butakin. Tumana is doubtless the Chinese Tumen; but it is as likely as not that Abulghazi obtained his data directly or indirectly from Chinese books, for the Turkestan States are at this period described by the Chinese as being fairly well versed in Celestial literature, as indeed had also been the later generations of the Hiung-nu and Tunguses who ruled in North China. The Chinese tell us that Tumen died in A.D. 553, leaving at least five sons, Isiki, Mukan, Tapo, Yangsu, and Tateu. That these five were all Tumen's sons, and in the above order, is nowhere categorically stated as a whole; but it may be deduced almost positively from disconnected statements concerning the relationship of his successors one to the other. It is highly probable that, even if they were all sons, they came from mothers of varying degrees of nobility.<sup>10</sup> This point was of vital importance, both in the Hiung-nu

<sup>8</sup> The Manchu emperors, before they conquered China, were officially addressed as *Khan* by the Chinese. I have the whole correspondence by me now: the character is the one used by the Chinese for the Tungusic predecessors of the Manchus 1,500 years ago.

<sup>9</sup> See *China Review*, vols. xx., xxi.

<sup>10</sup> The Chinese contradict themselves; Mukan is variously stated to be the son and the younger brother of Tumen. Deguignes variously states that Tateu was brother of Tumen and uncle of Tumen's grandson. Similar discrepancies occur touching other princes; no two histories are quite alike.

and Turkish systems, in deciding questions of succession.<sup>11</sup> Zagsu may possibly be Yangsu, and the syllables *takin* almost certainly represent the Chinese *tekin*, which stands for the Turkish *tāgin* ('prince of the blood') of the Orkhon inscriptions. But this is all that we can safely say: the names of the other eight sons given by Abulghazi can in no way be tortured to resemble any of the remaining four names recorded by the Chinese.

Isiki died almost as soon as he came to the throne. He was succeeded by his brother the *djigin* Mukan (the Muyui<sup>12</sup> of certain writers such as Schuyler who have misread the name). Mukan reigned from A.D. 553 to 572, and it was under him that the Turkish Empire attained its highest early development. He completely broke up the vestiges of the Geougen power in the Ili and Hami regions; annihilated the political ascendancy of the Ephthalites in Kapchak and Maouarennahar; asserted a suzerainty over the Kirghiz and nomad Tungusic tribes; and established a system of government which was practically bounded by Japan and Corea, China and Thibet, Persia and the Eastern Roman Empire. The rival Tungusic dynasties, that is the civilised and settled branches, ruling as emperors of North China, each in turn did all in their power to curry favour with the formidable Turkish khan, and the Abars<sup>13</sup> (called by the Chinese Yüe-ban) soon disappeared entirely from Asia. According to Menander and Theophylactus, they first appeared in Circassia in A.D. 588; their subsequent intercourse with Justinian, Justin, and the other Byzantine emperors down to Heraclius is a matter of simple history, until, in the last years of the eighth century, the remnants of the nation were destroyed by Charles the Great and his son Pippin. The Chinese inform us distinctly that the Yüe-ban were the remnants of the Hiung-nu who had fled north-west in the first century of our era. Gibbon, following Deguignes and other French translators, wrongly identifies the Avars with the Geougen, a nation so inferior in civilisation to the Yüe-ban that this latter nation declined in disgust to hold any diplomatic intercourse with them. Besides, the history of the Geougen is precisely recounted by the Chinese; they never had any doings beyond Turkestan, or even in it; unless it be a brush or two with the Haiathals, Ephthalites, or Indo-Scyths, as

<sup>11</sup> An excellent instance has just occurred in the Persian succession, the Kadjars being genuine Turks.

<sup>12</sup> There is the faintest possible distinction between the characters *kan* and *yü*. Deguignes makes innumerable blunders of this kind; however the fault is not his own, but that of the Chinese type-cutters.

<sup>13</sup> My view is that the Yüe-ban and their predecessors, the Hiung-nu, correspond to the Avars and their predecessors the Huns, in each case much the same hordes having taken new habitats and new leaders. I need hardly say that this view is only provisional. One positive Chinese statement militates against this view, and that is the fact that polyandry was common amongst the Yüe-ban; it is never hinted at amongst the Hun-Turks; but it is common in Tibet.

they are variously called. Moreover, the 3,000 Geougen who had taken refuge in North China after their rout by the Khan Mukan were surrendered to and butchered by that khan's envoy in A.D. 555; and it is certain that the Chinese, who have plenty to say about the Persians, Kirghiz, Karluks, and other Turkestan tribes at a date subsequent to this, would not have ignored the continued existence of the Geougen if it had really been of consequence to the Turks.

There seems to be some doubt as to when the first Turkish mission was sent to Constantinople; Theophanes the Confessor and Theophanes of Byzantium differ: one account says the 36th year of Justinian; another says in Justin's time. In 563, at the earliest, the Turks are said to have sent envoys to invite the eastern emperor not to give asylum to the remains of the Avars. According to Menander, the Turks allowed the Sogdians to send an envoy to Khosrou of Persia to arrange for a freer overland silk trade with China; there is nothing unlikely in this, for 400 or 500 years earlier the Parthians had been approached in the same spirit. Maniach was the name of the Sogdian envoy; but Catulphus the Ephthalite, then at the Persian court, anxious to weaken both the Persian and the Turkish power, succeeded in thwarting the negotiations. Fearing Turkish resentment, Persia sent envoys to North China; this was in A.D. 567. Maniach thereupon advised the Turks to deal directly with Constantinople; and, accordingly, in 568 a Turkish mission travelled thither *viâ* Caucasia. Justin learnt from them that their khan's name was Dizabul, and that there were four subordinate governments. It is quite certain that this exchange of missions must have taken place under the Khan Mukan, who, as we have seen, reigned twenty years at least; his own encampment was still near the Chinese frontier, and Dizabul must have been one of the *jabgu* (or *zep-hu* as Chinese history writes it) in charge of the west. There could not be better evidence in favour of this view than the fact that T'ung *zep-hu* or the 'supreme *jabgu*,' was actually the Chinese form of the title given to the chief Turk in the west who reigned subsequent to A.D. 619. *Di* is probably a corruption of some Turkish qualifying word such as 'the fifth,' or 'the great,' or 'the young;' and *zabul* is most likely to represent the word *jabgu* of the recently discovered Turkish inscriptions. In Mongol and Turkish alike the intermediate guttural is often slurred over, just as Rubruquis wrote *Môal* for 'Mongol' or 'Mogul.' According to Deguignes, the Byzantine authors speak of a Turkish khan named Tardou; but he does not tell us what they say of him, nor, at this moment, can the present writer lay his hand upon Theophylactus or Menander in order to find it out. At any rate, Tardou must be the Chinese Tat-t'ou, or Tateu, son of Tumen and brother of Mukan, who is stated by the Chinese to have arrogated to himself the title of 'Buka Khan of the



West.' In 599 he contested the supreme khanship with Isiki's grandson Turri, or T'uli, the ninth legitimate ruler (not to be confused with his grandson of the same name, a *protégé* of the Chinese).

During the reign of the fifth supreme khan, Shapur, the son of Isiki, from 581 to 587, the Chinese tell us, in almost as many words, that Amro, son of Tapo or Tapur the fourth khan, Dalobian 'the Fat,' the son of Mukan the third khan, and Tat-t'ou, the son of Tumen, were all reigning simultaneously. This corresponds precisely with the Byzantine statement that there were four subordinate governments; for an arrangement of this sort, made by Shapur, was most likely one that had already existed. The Hiung-nu also had three or four viceregal governments. In fact, the Chinese tell us distinctly that Shapur was made a 'lesser khan' during the reign of his uncle Tapur, who also appointed his own younger brother (son of Dannu) to the post of 'Buri Khan of the West.' This *buri* may be the Butakin or Bu(ri)*tügin* of Abulghazi, or perhaps Buka or Bu-a stands for Bu. Dannu might possibly be Tardou, as both *t* and *n* are frequently used by the Chinese to represent the final *r*, which they possess not: thus *Ansäk* for 'Parthia' or Arsac; *T'ut-küe* for *Türkö* or 'Turks.' But unfortunately Dannu is sometimes written Nudan.

The Turkish empire gained its greatest aggressive power under Turri's nephew Gheri, who was, however, after many wars, at last conquered and taken prisoner by the Chinese in 630. Meanwhile Chinese influence had also extended to the rival empire of the Western Turks, which, ever since 581, had formally become politically alienated from the Eastern branch, to which apparently it had never been closely united. The reason was that Dalobian 'the Fat,' whom the Turks had declined to accept as Mukan's successor on account of the plebeian quality of his mother's blood, had words with his cousin Shapur touching the right to the supreme succession. The result was that Dalobian threw himself into the arms of Tardou, and a solemn schism took place. The astute Chinese, whose deliberate policy it was to set the warlike Turks at each other's throats, carefully fostered ill-feeling between the rival khans. At first their intrigues recoiled upon their own heads, for the five khans—Shapur, Amro, Dalobian, Tardou, and Tanhan—simultaneously invaded China at the head of 400,000 men in A.D. 582. In the end, however, intellect prevailed over brute force, and, as we have said, Gheri's nephew and successor, Turri the Second, ruled as a Chinese viceroy rather than an independent khan.

The Eastern Turks rose again to great political power under the Khan Mörchö early in the eighth century, and again under his nephew Mogilan. The recently discovered Turkish inscriptions on the Orchon recount the doughty deeds of Mörchö's nephew and successor, Mogilan, and his brother the *tügin* Kül, whose faithful

service secured the throne to Mogilan, and cemented a solid peace with China. These last two words, pronounced in Chinese *t'e-k'in k'üet*—the *t*, as usual, standing for *l*—were the key which led to the discovery by Professor Thomsen of the old Turkish alphabet—a form of Aramean—and thus to the complete decipherment of the inscriptions by himself and Dr. Radloff of the Russian Academy. It is sufficient to state here that the Turkish epics, carved upon funeral tablets presented to them by the Chinese emperor, amply confirm the truth of Chinese history in every particular—that is, where it is possible to arrive at the right meaning; and therefore the above account of the origin of the Turks may be reasonably accepted as sound, except where doubts are specifically suggested. By the middle of the eighth century the second Turkish empire had been conquered and replaced by that of the Ouigours, a people also of Hiung-nu origin.

The Western branch of the Turks had their chief encampment in the Issikul region. Their relations with Persia were more extensive than those with China, but as late as A.D. 931 envoys were also sent to the more eastern court. It was from the agglomeration of tribes or states ruled by the Turgüs and Karluk successors of the Asena family in the west that emanated the Khazars, Uzes, Patzinacs, and even the dynasties of the Tulunides and Ikhsbidides of Egypt; the Ghaznevides, Ghourides, and Seljuks of Persia and Turkestan; and finally, after the Mongol conquests, the Osmanlis, who still reign at Constantinople. Of course, the successive intermixtures of the Turks with the Persian, Syrian, and Caucasian races have totally altered the aspect of the modern Turk, who, indeed, objects to the word 'Turk' being applied to him at all; yet it is perfectly easy, with the assistance of western history alone, to trace his origin step by step from the Caspian to the Hellespont. The object of this paper, however, is simply to endeavour to establish and make clear the single question of the true origin of the Turks, who, whether as Osmanlis, Kadjars, Uzbeks, Mongols, Kirghiz, or what not, practically cover much the same ground in Asia as they did 2,000 years ago,—always, of course, with the addition of a slice in Europe.

EDWARD HARPER PARKER.

#### APPENDIX.

I AM indebted to the Rev. H. F. Tozer, of Oxford, for the following notices, taken by him from Menander (Dindorf's '*Historici Graeci Minores*,' vol. ii.) and Theophylactus Simocatta ('*Historiae*,' book vii.)

A Turkish embassy led by Maniach crossed the Caucasus and reached Constantinople in A.D. 568, where they conversed with the emperor Justin II through interpreters. They informed him that there were four

chieftaincies of the Turks, and that Dizabul<sup>1</sup> was ruler of the whole nation. They said they had completely conquered the Ephthalitæ.<sup>2</sup> The emperor asked how many Avars<sup>3</sup> had escaped from the Turks, and was told twenty thousand. The Byzantine envoy Zemarchus accompanied the Turks back, and found Dizabul in the mountain called Ektag.<sup>4</sup> He accompanied Dizabul on his expedition against Persia.<sup>5</sup> When the expedition met the Persian envoys, the Greek envoys were dismissed by Dizabul, and took with them another Turkish envoy in place of Maniach, deceased. The new envoy was Tagma, who had the title of Tarchan,<sup>6</sup> and took Maniach's son along with him. The Greeks passed the river Oëch,<sup>7</sup> and then after a considerable journey reached a large lake. Here a Greek named George and twelve Turks took a short cut to Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> Zemarchus skirted the lake shore for twelve days, until he

<sup>1</sup> Mukan, *alias* Djigin, *alias* Yen-tu, is what the Chinese call the khan (553-572).

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese say Mukan conquered the Yep-thal or Yet-tat.

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese mention a race called Yueh-pan, or Eibar, a little north-west of Ili; they are positively described as being direct descendants of the Hiung-nu, and as being disgusted (about A.D. 450) with the filthy habits of their eastern neighbours, the Geougen, against whom they allied themselves with China to make war. There were 200,000 of them. Gibbon, accepting the authority of Deguignes, asserts that the Geougen were the Avars. There is nothing in Chinese history to justify this belief. All the Geougen who escaped to China were basely butchered at the Turkish request in A.D. 555-556. But the khan Mukan is said by Ma Twan-lin to have broken up 'to the westwards the Geougen and Yep-thal.' I find that Ma Twan-lin has interpolated the words 'Geougen and,' which do not exist in any Chinese original history. Deguignes (vol. ii. p. 352) says the Geougen butchered in China were not all; the greater part *must have (ont dû rester dans la Tartarie, ou se retirer vers l'ouest) gone west*, where this part of them were known as Avars. Further on he calls these the 'false Avars,' Ogors, or Sogors, and explains how the peoples of the Volga thought they were the true Avars, and therefore gave them the Avar name. Deguignes also identifies the Toulâ of the true Avars with the Til of the false Avars: i.e. he makes the Volga the same as the river of Karakorum. Thus our only authority contradicts himself, and admits that his identifications are 'false': his geography is also worthless.

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese place the khan's residence at Mount Tukin; but the statements of Deguignes, Klaproth, and others that this was 'near the Irtish,' 'north of Ordous,' 'north of the desert,' &c., do not point to any definite locality. I have always been of opinion that Etzinaï was the locality, but until I have finished reading all the Chinese histories I reserve my final judgment.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot find any Chinese statement that the Turks attacked the Persians earlier than the schism of Dalobian or Talopien, Mukan's son. On account of his mother's low quality, Talopien lost the succession, and set up as khan of the western Turks somewhere about A.D. 573, or possibly 581.

<sup>6</sup> The Chinese frequently speak of a Turkish rank *tat-kwan*, *tah-kan*, which (as with *yepthal*) is etymologically *tar-kan*. The word *ta-r-han* is frequently used as a title in the early Manchu history.

<sup>7</sup> The Chinese call the Oxus the Wei, and the large lake may be the Aral.

<sup>8</sup> Deguignes' statement that Persia sent envoys to China in A.D. 567 requires qualification. The Chinese distinguish between Parthia (An-sik or Arsac) and Persia (Po-sz): it was Parthia that sent envoys; but, as Parthia had long ceased to exist, it must mean a part of what we call Persia. Deguignes, vol. ii. p. 356, quoting Gregory of Tours and Adonis, says that in 561 Sigibert felt the Avar fury at Metz. Quoting Theophylactus and Theophanes, he also speaks (p. 353) of 'the Ogors. . . *que nous n'appellerons désormais qu'Avars*.' There appears to be abundant evidence that Justinian had already utilised friendly Ugurs or Utigurs against another tribe called Cutrigurs, and that Justin was his general. There is no difficulty, therefore, in

reached the river Ich. Then he crossed the Daïch, the Attilas,<sup>9</sup> and the Cophen, all four of which flow into the north side of the Caspian Sea. Between the Attilas and the Cophen the tribe of the Ugurs or Utigurs was settled. After passing the Cophen they entered the country of the Alans,<sup>10</sup> whose chief was friendly to the Greeks, but refused to allow the Turks into his presence until they had put off their arms. After this they traverse the Caucasus and reach the Black Sea, whence they are conveyed, by way of Trebizond, to Constantinople.<sup>11</sup>

The Byzantine empire sent another mission to the Turks in A.D. 575, under Valentinus, who took back with him 106 Turks. These Turks had gradually accumulated in Constantinople, having in batches accompanied five other Byzantine return missions under Anancastes, Eutyclus, Valentinus (the same man), Herodianus, and Paulus the Cilician. But nothing of these five intermediate missions is recorded. The object of Valentinus's mission was to announce the accession of Tiberius II, and cement the existing alliance. Valentinus from Kherson passed through a Scythian province ruled by the woman Accagas, subject to Anagaeus, chief of the Utigurs. At last he reached Turxanthus, son of Dizabul,<sup>12</sup> who had recently died. Turxanthus was one of eight<sup>13</sup> chiefs between whom the rule of the Turks was divided: the eldest and supreme in command of these was called Arsilas.<sup>14</sup> At the conference Valentinus urged that, in accordance with the

accepting the Emba, Jaik, and Volga as three of the four rivers. The Chinese are very plain that the Ephthalites were the western neighbours of the Geougen, whose short rule is never for one instant, however indirectly, supposed by them to have extended west of the Balkash. It is, therefore, for these further reasons, monstrous to suppose that the Avars of 561 before Metz can be the Geougen of 553 in China. If a guess must be made, there is no difficulty in supposing, as in fact we are told, that the name of Avars was erroneously given to the Ogors. Who the Ogors were from a Chinese point of view is another question.

\* The Chinese mention a river A-teh, north of the Kangli tribe (*i.e.* Captchak).

<sup>10</sup> The Chinese mention the name Alan, near the Caspian, as early as the second century. I believe Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of 'Alans, surnamed Tanaïtes,' fighting with the Goths. The most convincing statement of all is that of Ma Twan-lin (Western Turks), in which, after mentioning 30,000 Turks along the Volga (A-téh) and north of Captchak (K'ang-li), he says, 'East of the Byzantine empire (Fu-lin) were 20,000 more, belonging to the A-lan and other tribes.' Surely this is conclusive?

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Tozer informs me that, except in so far as above given, nothing is recorded to have been said about either Avars or Persians.

<sup>12</sup> The Chinese say Mukan died in 572. The only son of his mentioned is Talopien, which word is stated to be Turkish for 'the Fat' or 'the Squat.' During Mukan's lifetime Talopien seems to have gone off in a huff to his province in the west, and that the word Turxanthus evidently refers to him is plain from the fact that the Chinese style him the '*tah-kan* of A-po.' Mukan was succeeded by his brother T'a-pot, or Tapur, and in 581 Talopien openly broke with him, and sought help from his uncle Tat-t'ou, or Tardu. It is impossible at present to account for the name Dizabul, except on the assumption that it contains a Turkish word, such as *zap-glu* (Chinese *ziép-hu*), meaning 'royal agnate.'

<sup>13</sup> The Chinese mention the following chiefs in a way which permits of the supposition that they were all 'lesser khans,' or Cæsars, under the supreme khan Tapur, or Augustus: Shedu, Buli, Shaporo, Amro (on the river Toula, near Kiachta), Yangsu, Tat-t'ou, Chulohou (the sounds are, of course, only approximate).

<sup>14</sup> The Chinese frequently mention the tribal and personal name A-si-lan, which is evidently Arslan, 'a lion;' but Tapur is never called by any other name, and the Arslan tribe seems to have belonged to the Ouïgour Turks.

former treaty, as the Romans were now at war with the Persians, the Turks ought also to attack the Persians.<sup>15</sup> Turxanthus boasted to the Greeks of his supremacy over the Avars, the Alans, and the Utigurs.<sup>16</sup> He made the Greeks lacerate their faces in token of grief for Dizabul's death.<sup>17</sup> Finally Turxanthus sent the Greeks further into the interior to the other Turkish chiefs, and among them to his relative Tardu,<sup>18</sup> who was stationed in Mount Ektel; and he threatened that he would capture the town of Bosporus. For that reason he despatched Bochan with a large force of Turks, who were assisted by the troops of Anagæus.

In the reign of Maurice<sup>19</sup> the khan of the Turks sent envoys to announce his victories. This khan had subdued first the Abdeli,<sup>20</sup> who are also called Ephthalitæ, and afterwards the Avars. Some of the defeated Avars betook themselves to the inhabitants of Tangast, which is a famous city, 1,500 miles distant from the Turks here spoken of, and on the borders of India. The barbarous people who occupied the country in the neighbourhood of Tangast<sup>21</sup> were very populous and warlike. Others

<sup>15</sup> The Chinese do not mention any fighting with the Persians until about A.D. 610; but there are plenty of statements in Persian history (e.g. *Encyc. Brit.*) to the effect that Khosrou was mixed up with the Turks long previous to 579, and that his son Hormizd IV was born of a Turk mother.

<sup>16</sup> It is not relevant to our present purpose to inquire who the Utigurs were; it is quite clear that they occupied the territory to the north-east of the Black Sea. We have seen that there is no difficulty with the Alans. As to the Avars, in addition to what we have said above, we may point out that at this very date the Chinese mention a tribe called A-bat (etymologically precisely Avar) as capturing the family of the *tah-kan* of A-po. But this was a small tribe numbering only 1,700 soldiers, and its habitat was originally far away towards modern Irkutsk. Gibbon confesses his confusion (in his attempt to follow Deguignes in his labyrinthine distinctions) between the invisible 'true' Avars and the palpable 'false' ones, not to mention the confusion between Ogours and Avars, Ogours and Utigours. It is not clear what Gibbon means by 'Varchonites or Ogors.' One thing is at least certain. The Geougen of China are certainly *not* the Avars of Metz and Pannonia.

<sup>17</sup> The Chinese mention this custom, and say that the Kirghiz did *not* do it.

<sup>18</sup> This is plainly Tah-t'ou: the same Chinese syllable *Tat*, or *Tar*, does duty in *Tarxanthus* and *Ephthal*. The Chinese make out Tardu to be the younger brother of Mukan, and it seems that he had usurped the title of 'Buka, khan of the west,' before his nephew the *tah-kan* of Apo fled to him. The Chinese tell us most precisely that Apo's dominions were bounded by the state of Kashgar to the south, and by two seas (not identifiable with certainty) to the north and west. The Karluks and many other tribes, all speaking much the same language, were subject to him. There is no reason why we should not accept Ektag, Ektel, as the equivalent of the Turkish and Mongol Altaï, Altun Tagh, the Chinese Kin Shan, or 'Gold Range.' But the same name, *Kin Shan*, was applied to another range (possibly a spur of the Altaï) quite close to the Chinese frontier, and the true cradle of the Turkish race. In 'Bochan' we are tempted to recognise 'Buka,' which, like Apo, was probably an hereditary title.

<sup>19</sup> 582-602. The khans of the Turks, during this period, were Shaporo, 581-587; Chulohou, 587-588; Tulan, 588-599; and Durli or Turri, 599-609.

<sup>20</sup> The word Abdeli is quite compatible with the Chinese *Yip-t'at* (or *Yip-tal*, as the Corcans still pronounce it). It looks as though the khan were boasting of his ancestor Mukan's victories, as the Chinese say nothing of the Ephthalites at this date. The *Yüe-pan* may be the Avars, but, as we have seen, it is difficult to be certain.

<sup>21</sup> The word Tangut, applied to Tibet, suggests itself; but it is a serious question whether it appears anything like so early as this in Chinese history. Neither of the Avar branches, according to this account, fled west; both fled towards the Pamir. By 'Avars' could the Greeks mean what the recently discovered Turkish inscriptions call

of the Avars fled to the people called Moukri, who were near the land of Tangast. Next the khan subdued the race of the Ogor, who were situated towards the east, near the river Til, which the Turks call 'Black.' The earliest chiefs of this race were called Var and Chunni, from which certain tribes obtained their names.

In the time of Justinian <sup>22</sup> part of the Var and Chunni tribes fled, and established themselves in Europe. After the defeat of the Ogor, civil war arose among the Turks. A relation of the khan, called Touroum, aroused a faction against him, and a pitched battle was fought at a place called Icar, which lies in the middle of a great plain, 400 miles distant from the Golden Mountain. The khan was victorious, and it was this victory which he notified to the emperor Maurice.<sup>23</sup> It is a custom of the Turks to allow the chief khan to occupy the Golden Mountain.<sup>24</sup> At about this time the tribes called Tarniach and Cotzager<sup>25</sup> (who were also descendants of Var and Chunni) escaped from the Turks, and, flying to Europe, joined the Avars, who are under the dominion of the khan.

'Ogouz'—that is, 'Ouigours'? But this explanation, again, would not fit in with the known movements of the Ouigours; and moreover the conquest of the Ogor near the Til agrees admirably with the Chinese Ouigours near the Tula. [Confusion has arisen in some authors' minds through taking this word Til to mean *A-ti*, or 'Volga.'] The Chinese tell us the Ouigours were vassals to the Turks, and that between 605 and 616 they revolted against the Turkish tyranny. The Var and the Chunni, it must be supposed, account for Gibbon's mysterious 'Varchonites.' The chiefs of the Hiung-nu were called by the Chinese Shan-yü (the Zenghi of my book on the Tartars); and, in recollection of this, the Yüe-pan were (say the Chinese) also known as the Shan-yü tribe. Thus the Chunni may possibly be the Avars, as I suppose them to be (*i.e.* the Yüe-pan), also known to the Chinese as Chunni (*i.e.* Shan-yü); and this suggestion receives support from the fact that the Chinese most distinctly trace the movements and descent of the Yüe-pan, who were originally Hiung-nu. But has Var anything to do with Avar? As for 'Blackwater,' the term is too common in Tartar history to be of any value. We are thus no further advanced; we can only repeat, the Avars of Europe cannot possibly be the Geougen of China.

<sup>22</sup> Here follows the story of their appropriating the name of Avars. As Justinian died in A.D. 565, it is evident the historian is harking back.

<sup>23</sup> The date seems uncertain, but of course it must have been previous to 602. Civil war raged for some years between Tardu and Tarxanth on the one side and Shaporo and Tulan on the other. Durli, son of Chulohou (who also took part in the civil war), may be said to have 'roused a faction' against Tulan, whose ally, called by the Chinese 'Nili Khan of the west,' was defeated by the Ouigours. But it is impossible to make the Greek and Chinese accounts square; both are too vague.

<sup>24</sup> In view of the vast distance separating the two rival Golden Mountains it is difficult to say where the supreme khan really lived. The Chinese tell us distinctly that the first six khans at least had their capital at Mount Tukin. (See note 4, p. 442.) Regarding Tangast, touching which Theophylact goes into a long disquisition here, possibly it should be Taugast. The Turkish inscriptions recently discovered establish the fact that the Turks called the Chinese by the name *Tavgas* (written by the Chinese themselves, in imitation of Turkish, *t'ao-hua-sz*). The Moukri may be the Mercrits, but I have never been able to discover whom Deguignes (vol. ii. p. 352) and Howorth (vol. i. p. 22) mean by the Merkits or Mercrits. The Chinese have no such name.

<sup>25</sup> The Cotzager may be the *Kot-sat* of the Chinese (an Ouigour tribe), or the *K'o-sat* (Khazars), who were near Captchak. As to the Chunni, it may be mentioned that *K'un-ni* was the title assumed, according to the Chinese, in the early centuries of our era, by the chieftains of the Wu-sun nomads of modern Ili; these peoples disappeared utterly from China before the Turks appeared.



# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Turks in the Sixth Century*

IN the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW of July 1896, and in the 'Academy' of December 21, 1895, the Chinese scholar Mr. E. H. Parker has made a contribution of distinct value to the question of the origin of the Turks. He shows, from Chinese sources, that the Turks were a branch of the Hiung-nu; that they were subject to the Geougen from about the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century; that they assumed the name Türk in the first half of the sixth century; and that about A.D. 543 they threw off the yoke of the Geougen. The general outline of these events had been already given by Deguignes and Gibbon, but Mr. Parker presents it in a clearer and correcter form. The most important conclusion established by Mr. Parker seems to me to be the identification of the Golden Mountain, which was the residence of the khans known to Chinese history. We can hardly hesitate to accept his view that their seat was in, or close to, the province of Kansuh, north-east of the Kok o Nor range. It was here, in the iron country, that Tumen, the smiter of the Geougen, and Mukan, the conqueror of the Ephthalites, governed their people on the lower slopes of the Kin-shan or Golden Mountains. But the name Kin-shan is also applied by the Chinese to the Altai, a long way to the north; and this ambiguity misled Mr. Parker's predecessors into seeking there the residence of Tumen and the khans who followed him. The evidence of the Greek historian Menander had seemed to confirm this theory. Ektág, or the Golden Mountain, which a Roman embassy visited in A.D. 568, is most naturally identified with the Altai. Mr. Parker justly retains this identification, and therefore distinguishes the residence of Tumen and Mukan from Ektág.

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It is to be regretted that Mr. Parker had not an acquaintance at first hand with the Greek historians, especially Menander and Theophylactus. Although he knows all the main facts, and has had the advantage of information from Mr. Tozer, he has fallen, as was quite natural, into some mistakes, which he would have avoided if he had had the original texts or complete and literal translations before him. The same danger attends the western scholar when he deals at second hand with Oriental sources; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Parker may decide to publish a literal and authoritative version of the most important notices in the Chinese annals, relating to the Turkish khans of the sixth century, on the same plan as that adopted in the admirable work of Hirth, 'China and the Roman Orient.' But a few minor errors matter little,<sup>1</sup> and do not affect Mr. Parker's general interpretation of the data of the Greek historians. It is more serious when, in trying to reconcile the Chinese and Greek authorities, he does injustice to the general tenor of the Greek account. The story told by Menander has to be strained, if we follow Mr. Parker's method of bringing it into harmony with the Chinese chronicles. Mr. Parker has set a good example himself in distinguishing the two Golden Mountains. He should have carried the same principle a little further. In most cases it is much safer to reconcile by keeping apart than by bringing together.

I. In the year 568, when the first embassies passed between the Turks and the Roman empire, *Silzibil*<sup>2</sup> was the Turkish sovereign

<sup>1</sup> Thus Mr. Parker (misreading presumably Mr. Tozer's note) gives for *Tavgydor* 'Tangast,' although there is no such variant in the manuscripts of Theophylactus; and suggests that we should read 'Taugast' (in which it is certainly tempting to find the *Tavgas* of the Orkhon inscriptions). Again, Mr. Parker speaks of 'Gibbon's mysterious Varchonites.' There is nothing mysterious about them. Turxanth calls the (false) Avars *Ὀυαρχωῖται* (in Menander, fr. 43); the name is of course the same as that meant by Theophylactus, who calls them *Ὀυάρ καὶ Χουρρί*, breaking up the compound. Again, what does Mr. Parker mean by the statement that 'Theophanes the Confessor and Theophanes of Byzantium differ' as to the date of 'the first Turkish mission' to Constantinople? A very inaccurate statement has been made on the same point by Sir H. Howorth in his monograph on 'The Avars,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser. vol. i. p. 727, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs in three forms, *Dizabul*, fr. 18, 20, 21; *Dilzibil*, fr. 43; *Silzibil*, fr. 10, and Suidas. We must decide for the last, because it is confirmed by Tabari's *Singibu* (Nöldeke, p. 158); though one is tempted to guess that *Zilzibil* would be a closer transliteration than *Silzibil*. Mr. Parker ('E. H. R.' xi. 439) proposes to equate *zabul* with *jabgu*, which is found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 191, he was anxious to connect it with Shaporo, who was khan of the eastern Turks from A.D. 581 to 587. I must here mention two lines of Corippus, in *Laudem Iustinii*, 3, 390-1, which have been supposed to refer to the Turks without sufficient grounds (cp. Gibbon, ch. xlv., n. 5):

enscultor nostra servire paratus in aula  
legatos nobis et plurima munera mittit.

For the mysterious *enscultor* Fogginius proposed *en Sultan*, which is accepted by Partsch, and may be regarded as the worst reading which appears in the text of his edition. Were it certain that it was a question of the Turks, *en Turcus* would be at

according to Menander, *Mukan* according to the Chinese authorities. There cannot be the least doubt that Mukan and Silzibul are different persons; Mukan dwelt in the southern Golden Mount, while Ektág, Silzibul's residence, was the northern Golden Mount, Altai. The question then arises, What was the political relation of Silzibul to Mukan? Mr. Parker argues that Silzibul was a viceroy or governor of part of the Turkish dominion. He refers to the statement of Maniach, the Turkish envoy to Constantinople, who informed Justin that the Turkish realm was divided into four governments (*ἡγεμονίας*, Menander, p. 226, ed. Müller), and he assumes that Silzibul was one of the governors subordinate to Mukan. He illustrates this statement of Menander by a Chinese notice that, in the course of the years 581-587, four princes were reigning at the same time, namely, Shaporo, who was the chief khan, Tat-t'ou, and two others. But Mr. Parker does not seem to have made it quite clear to himself whether it is to be understood that there were one supreme khan and four subordinate khans, or one supreme khan and three subordinate khans. In the latter case—which is suggested by the Chinese notice—the supreme khan would govern directly one of the four governments into which his realm was divided.

Unfortunately this explanation is opposed to one of the leading facts in the account of Menander. If anything is clear in the narrative of this historian, it is the supremacy of Silzibul. Not merely is nothing hinted of his subordination to a higher monarch, but his own sovereignty above subordinate princes is asserted in unmistakable words. When Maniach explains the organisation of the realm in four governments, in the very same breath he attributes the supremacy over the whole realm to Silzibul.<sup>3</sup> All through the story Silzibul appears as an irresponsible sovereign. If he had been only a governor, even though a member of the royal family, he could hardly have entered into independent negotiations with the Roman empire. It is in the highest degree improbable that Menander, who was a contemporary and had access to official sources of information, should have made a mistake on such a vital point. We are certainly not entitled to impute this blunder to him without clear proofs, and Mr. Parker's theory is thus open to a serious objection.

The only justifiable conclusion to draw from the data is that

least an inoffensive emendation. But there is no probability in such a reference. The poem appeared before the embassy of A.D. 568, and it, so far as we know, was the first embassy of the Turks. Theophanes (his authority is unknown) mentions an embassy to Justinian from Askél, king of the Herméchiones, an unknown people, in A.D. 562-3 (p. 239, ed. de Boor). Anastasius gives the name as Asceltus, but he merely annexed the article to the name (*Ascelti regis* = *Ἀσκέλ τοῦ βασιλέως*). One might guess that *en Ascel* should be restored to Corippus.

<sup>3</sup> Τὸ δὲ γε κρῖτος τοῦ ξύμπαντος ἔθνους ἀνεῖσθαι μόνῃ τῷ Διζαβούλῃ.

there were at this time two distinct and independent Turkish realms. There was the northern realm of Silzibul, who lived in the northern Golden Mountain, and the southern realm of Mukan, who lived in the southern Golden Mountain. It might be imagined that the split took place in the reign of the first khan Tumen, and that the leader of the seceding Turks made the Altai a rival 'Golden Mountain.' But this is quite uncertain. The firm fact is, that in the reign of Justin II the Turkish empire fell into two divisions, which were at least as distinct and independent as the realms of Honorius and Arcadius, or of Anthemius and Leo.

II. Advancing over a period of eight years, we come to the second Roman embassy to the Turkish khan in 576.<sup>32</sup> It was sent by the new Caesar Tiberius to Silzibul. But, on arriving, the ambassadors found that Silzibul had just died, and his son Turxanth was preparing to perform the obsequies. The monarch was doubtless buried at Ektág, the Golden Mountain, but the ambassadors were stopped before they reached Ektág, at a military station, and Turxanth came (evidently from Ektág) to meet them. Turxanth is described by Menander as one of the chiefs or governors (*ἡγεμόνες*, p. 245). He has not succeeded to the supreme power of his father Silzibul. Recollecting the statement of Maniach that the realm of Silzibul was divided into four governments, we should expect to find him described as one of four governors. But we now receive different information. We are told that the Turk world (*τὰ ἐκεῖνη πάντα*) is distributed into *eight* parts, and Turxanth is one of the eight chiefs. The two apparently conflicting statements seem perfectly credible, and Menander, fortunately, has put down the reports of the ambassadors without attempting to harmonise them. But the modern critic, who seeks to illustrate mutually the Chinese and the Roman annals, must face the difficulty that in A.D. 568 we find a quadruple, and in 576 an octuple, division of Turkish territory. Mr. Parker has not attempted to solve it, and, so long as he leaves it unexplained, it forms another objection to his theory.

But on the view, which is here put forward, that there were two independent realms and two supreme khans, the apparent inconsistency is easily explained. We should expect, *a priori*, to find both realms organised on the same principle. Just as each had its own Golden Mountain, so each had its own quadruple division. Maniach stated that the empire of Silzibul was divided into four governments, and that was strictly true. But the ambassadors of Tiberius travelled beyond the realm of Silzibul, as we shall see presently, into further Turkey. They were thus able to complete

<sup>32</sup> 'In the second year' of Tiberius (Menander, fr. 43, ad init.) Tiberius was created Caesar in the last month of 574. Kulakovski (*История Боспора Киммерийского в конце VI века*, a paper dealing with the puzzling inscription of Eupaterios; *Viz. Vremennik*, iii. p. 1, sqq., 1896) places the embassy in 575 (p. 12), and the capture of Bosphorus by the Turks in the same year. His paper is important for the history of Bosphorus.

their knowledge of the Turkish world, and to embrace in their view both the northern and the southern realm. In both realms together there were eight chagans, two sovereign, six subordinate; and thus their statement as to the 'eight parts' was true of the Turks as a whole, though not true of the empire of Silzibul taken by itself.

Following the adventures of the embassy of Tiberius, we find that a misconception of Menander's story is generally prevalent, owing to the rooted tendency of historians to establish identifications at any cost. In the narrative of the embassy of 568 we were taken to the Golden Mountain Ektág; in the narrative of 576 we are taken to the Golden Mountain Ektél; and it is at once inferred that Ektél is Ektág, though the inference is quite at variance with the tenor of the narrative.

When Turxanth has completed the obsequies of his father Silzibul, he sends the ambassadors to the Turk khans of further Asia (as we may translate *ἐς τοὺς ἐνδοτέρω ἡγεμόνας Τούρκων*), and to his own kinsman Tardou, who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Ektél, which means Golden Mountain.<sup>4</sup> So long as we only knew of one Golden Mountain, it seemed necessary to suppose that the funeral of Silzibul had taken place at a long distance from his residence in Ektág, and that the envoys were sent thither to see a kinsman, who is not described as being the chief khan. This was assuredly a most unsatisfactory explanation. But now that Mr. Parker has established the southern Golden Mountain in Kansuh, there need be no hesitation in seeking Ektél there. Perhaps the most plausible identification of a khan mentioned in Greek sources with a khan named in the Chinese sources is that of Tardou with Tat-t'ou.<sup>5</sup> This Tat-t'ou was a brother of the great khan Mukan, and must be connected with the southern and not with the northern Turkey. The reigns of Mukan's successors seem to have been marked by civil dissensions. It is possible that Tat-t'ou was not on good terms with his brother, the reigning khan Tapur;<sup>6</sup> and that the khans of the northern realm sympathised with Tat-t'ou rather than with his brother. But this is a question which must be left to Chinese scholars.

I must guard myself here against a possible misinterpretation. The Turkish name for both Golden Mountains was the same—*ektag* or *aktag*, white mountain. *Ektél* is a corrupted form, which, for the sake of distinction, it is convenient to retain in this paper. But I cannot regard it as merely a corruption due to a copyist. I have no doubt that the variation *Ἐκτάγ*, *Ἐκτέλ*, corresponding as it does to a real difference, also corresponds to a variety in the

<sup>4</sup> Menander, p. 247, ed. Müller.

<sup>5</sup> Parker, 'E. H. R.' xi. 443.

<sup>6</sup> This is suggested by Mr. Parker, *ibid.* note 12.

(partly oral) sources from which Menander obtained his information on Turkish affairs.

The Chinese annals are more satisfactory in giving definite facts as to the succession and chronology of the southern khans than the Roman historians are for the northern khans. But from Menander we learn who succeeded as chief khan to the throne of Silzibil. His name was Arsilas—a name which certainly suggests a Greek corruption of the lion name of the Seljuks. And he succeeded because he was elder by birth than any other claimant. This is what we must infer from the brief statement: Ἀρσίλας δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παλαιτέρῳ μονάρχῳ Τούρκων. Arsilas may have been either a brother of Silzibil or a son older than Turxanth.<sup>7</sup>

The northern and southern realms were intimately connected by geographical continuity, as well as by ties of kinship. At one time they might combine together against a common enemy; at another, when the chief khans were weak, they might each present the appearance of a number of independent peoples. It was by combining together that they succeeded in destroying the nation of the Ephthalites or Abdels.<sup>8</sup> This achievement is ascribed by Chinese writers to Mukan;<sup>9</sup> by Greek and Persian sources to Silzibil.<sup>10</sup> The inference is that it was a common enterprise.

III. Leaving Menander, we come to the remarkable Turkish digression in the seventh book of Theophylactus Simocatta. It is interesting to watch the savants of Constantinople gradually extending their knowledge of the peoples of Central Asia. In A.D. 568 they make discoveries about the northern Turks; ten years later their view extends to southern Turkey; and by the end of the century it reaches to Taugast and remote China.

In 598 the khan of the Turks sent an embassy to Maurice—an embassy, as a Russian writer observes,<sup>10a</sup> of diplomatic politeness to a friendly sovereign. We are not told the khan's name. There is a notice in Tabari which suggests that before 588–9 Arsilas had been succeeded by another, named Shāba or Shāva.<sup>11</sup> More important are some records in the Chinese annals which will have to be considered presently. Whatever his name, this khan described

<sup>7</sup> I cannot follow Mr. Parker's proposal to identify Turxanth with Talopien, son of Mukan (*loc. cit.*). For this implies the identification of Mukan with Silzibil, which Mr. Parker rightly rejected (p. 439).

<sup>8</sup> Ἀβδηλοί in Theophylactus, vii. 7, 8, and in a Syriac document, Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 387; Hāital in Persian sources. Cf. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> Parker, *ubi supra*, p. 438, and 442 n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Menander, p. 226; Theophanes Byz., p. 270 (ed. Müller); Theophylactus, *loc. cit.*; Tabari, p. 159.

<sup>10a</sup> Kulakovski, *Viz. Vremennik*, *loc. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> P. 269. The expedition of this khan against Persia is mentioned, and he is described as the chief king of the Turks. It has been proposed to identify Shāva with the Chinese Chao-wou. The Armenian historian, Sebæos, also mentions the expedition, but gives no name to the khan (Russian transl. by Patkanian, p. 73).



himself as the 'Great Lord of seven races, and controller of seven climes of the world.' Theophylactus explains by recounting the Turkish conquest of the Ephthalites, the Avars the true Avars <sup>12</sup>), the Ogôr and 'the ethnarch of Kolch.' He commits the mistake of attributing to the reigning khan the subjugation of the Ephthalites, which had really been the work of Silzibul and Mukan. As to the date of the reduction of the Ogôr, the Chinese annals appear to be silent. It cannot be decided whether Theophylactus falls into a similar error in regard to them and in regard to the conquest of the Avars. He then goes on to mention the rebellion of Turum against the khan, and the battle of Ikar. He seems, from the whole context, to imply that it was on the successful termination of this civil war that the khan sent the embassy to Maurice. But we cannot safely make any inference as to the time that may have elapsed between the end of the war and the embassy. Perhaps the Chinese annals may shed some faint light here; for the civil war mentioned by Theophylactus immediately suggests the disturbances caused by Dalobian.

It will be observed that the effect of the chief conclusions which I have attempted to establish is to place the schism or division of the eastern and western Turks considerably before the date commonly assigned to it. This division is usually placed after the death of Tapur (A.D. 581), nine years after the death of Mukan, five years after the death of Silzibul. We have seen that it must really have taken place before the end of the reign of Mukan at latest; the limit being the year 567. But it is worth while to consider the Chinese account of the schism, which is given in Mr. Parker's book 'A Thousand Years of the Tartars,' <sup>13</sup> and is very far from being clear or satisfactory.

The great khan Mukan had a son named Dalobian, by an inferior wife. This Dalobian, when his uncle Tapur died in 581, desired to succeed to the supreme position, and was disgusted at the election of his cousin Shaporo. Accordingly, he left the royal residence, and made his way westward to the region of Kuldja. Here he is said to have established a great empire. 'He had Lake Balkash on the west, his dominions included Kashgar to the south and reached to the desert beyond the Altaï in the north.' But it is also stated that he sought the help of, or took refuge with, Tat-t'ou or Tardou, and that Tat-t'ou styled himself 'Bukha Khakan of the west.' <sup>14</sup> And we are thus left in doubt whether, in the joint movement, Dalobian or Tat-t'ou has the better claim to be regarded as the chief khan. However this may have been, Dalobian was presently overthrown, and made a prisoner by Chulagu (or

<sup>12</sup> There seems no reason to decline to identify these Avars with the modern Avars who live in the Lesghian district of the Caucasus.

<sup>13</sup> P. 231 *sqq.* In 'E. H. R.' xi. 442, n. 5, Mr. Parker seems to suggest another version, that Dalobian set up a rival khanate in A.D. 573 (?).

<sup>14</sup> Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, pp. 189, 233.

Chulohou), the brother of Shaporo. The succession in the newly founded western khanate went, with the sanction apparently of Shaporo and Chulohou, to a kinsman named Neri Khakan.

Now, this story has internal marks of incredibility. It rests, of course, on the assumption that there was only one undivided Turkish empire in the reigns of Mukan and Tapur. Dalobian and Tat-t'ou are represented as rebelling, and occupying the western provinces of the empire, and setting up there an independent and sovereign power. The rebellion is suppressed, but we are amazed to find that the provinces are not brought back to their allegiance to Shaporo. On the contrary, Shaporo and his brother assist in the establishment of the very thing which it was the crime of Dalobian and his uncle to have attempted. They found a rival sovereignty in the west. This at least seems to be the implication in the story told by Mr. Parker.

The identification of Turkish names which have passed through Chinese channels with Turkish names which have passed through Greek channels carries little conviction, unless the evidence is cumulative—unless, for example, there occur two groups of names, which are more or less alike, in the same historical connexion. Now, three of the actors in the episode of the revolt of Turum, noticed by Theophylactus, bear names which admit of being compared, without great extravagance, with the names of actors in the episode of the rebellion of Dalobian. The three most important persons in the eastern realm at the time were the king Shaporo, his brother Chulohou, and their nephew T'uli (or Duli).<sup>15</sup> Chulohou succeeded to the throne on Shaporo's death, and T'uli succeeded Chulohou. Nothing seems to be said about T'uli in connexion with the affair of Dalobian, but it is to be presumed that he was on the side of his uncle and sovereign. Now, Theophylactus tells us that the nameless khan of the western Turks, menaced by the revolt of Turum, obtained the help of 'three other great khans,' and he gives their names. They were called Sparzeugûn, Kunaxolân, and Tuldîch.<sup>16</sup> It is very tempting to see in the first part of Sparzeugûn the name of the khan Shaporo or Shapor, and in *zeugûn* the title *zieghu*. This title was borne by subordinate khans of the royal house, and would not have been applied to Shaporo after his accession in A.D. 581; to this point I shall return in a moment. We can also, without much strain on our credulity, see in Tul-dich the name T'uli and the title *djigin*.<sup>17</sup> The approximation of Kunaxolân to Chulagu or Chulohou would, taken by itself, have little probability. But, in the

<sup>15</sup> In the 'E. H. R.' *ubi supra*, Mr. Parker calls him Tulan.

<sup>16</sup> Theophyl. p. 259, ed. de Boor, *Σπαρzeugûn, Κουναξολάν, Τουλδίζ*.

<sup>17</sup> *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 232. 'It must be noticed that the Chinese, rightly or wrongly, often use such titles as *sieghu* and *djigin* as personal names, e.g. Mukan Djigin,' Zieghu Chulagu. Zieghu became a regular title of the khan of the western Turks. Compare also pp. 180, 181.

context—if the connexion of the revolt of Turum with that of Dalobian be entertained—the forms are near enough to represent conceivably the same Turkish name.<sup>18</sup>

The story of Theophylactus may now throw light on the Chinese records. The rebel Turum, who attempts to win the supreme power in the western kingdom, is a relation of the reigning khan of the west. The khan is defeated in a battle, and then calls in the help of Sparzeugün and the others. Their united forces defeat Turum at Ikar, and the khan remains undisputed master of his dominions. If we remember that the royal houses of the western and eastern Turks were closely related, we may venture to take Turum as the name of the person whom the Chinese sources designate by the title Dalobian.<sup>19</sup> On this view, the rebellion of Dalobian would have a double complexion: at once a quarrel with the eastern khan and an attempt to usurp the throne of the western khan.

Now, there is another point which it is important to observe. It appears that Dalobian quarrelled and left the court before his uncle Tapur's death and his cousin Shaporo's succession. Mr. Parker says: 'In 581 Talopien openly broke with him [Tapur] and sought help from his uncle Tat-t'ou.' This circumstance would illustrate the readiness of Shaporo to help the western khan against Dalobian. Shaporo, not yet khan, would have been ready to purchase a guarantee from the khan of the west to support his claims to the throne, by lending help against Dalobian, his rival—more ready than if he had actually gained the coveted prize. And if the intervention of Shaporo took place before Tapur's death, the title *zieghu*, which we may venture to see in *zeugün*, would be thereby explained.<sup>20</sup>

If this combination is right—the very nature of our sources drives us to combinations—Theophylactus has clearly conceived the battle of Ikar as having been fought fifteen years or so later than its true date: just in the same way as he has postdated the subjugation of the Ephthalites.

<sup>18</sup> *Κουλαζολάν* (var. -*λ*) may be a corruption of *Κουλαζολάν* by a familiar kind of dissimilation. I do not attempt to explain -*σολάν*. In his *Hün-Avar ssó-és nevajstrom*, appended to his *A magyarok eredete*, Vámbéry explains (p. 421) this name as equivalent to *quartermaster*, and Tuldich as *mourner*. He offers explanations also of the other proper names in Menander and Theophylactus. I cannot criticise from the Turkish side; but they sound completely unconvincing.

<sup>19</sup> Dalobian or talopien was a title; Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 180. In the same way the true name of Shaporo was Shetu.

<sup>20</sup> In any case, there is little difficulty about the use of this title. For, supposing Shaporo to have already succeeded Tapur at the time when he was appealed to for help by the khan of the west, the sources or informants of Theophylactus were most likely to transfer to the supreme khan of the east a title which soon afterwards came to be commonly used by the supreme khan of the west.

IV. For the sake of clearness I may briefly state the main points of this paper :—

(1) The division of the north-western from the south-eastern Turks took place at least fourteen or fifteen years earlier than is assumed in Chinese histories. It cannot have taken place later than 567, and it probably took place earlier (perhaps during the reign of Tumen or at the time of the accession of Mukan in 553).

(2) The mountains Ektág and Ektél in Menander are to be distinguished. Ektág is to be sought in the Altai, and is the residence of the north-western khan; Ektél is in the province of Kansuh, and is the residence of the south-western khan.

(3) It is suggested that Theophylactus has postdated—or, more strictly, implied too late a date for; he does not commit himself to a distinct note of time—the episode of Turum, and that this episode may be brought into relation with the Chinese notices of the movement of Dalobian in 581. This suggestion is modestly submitted to the consideration of Chinese scholars, as I am fully conscious of the hazards which attend such reconstruction when one is ignorant of Chinese; and if it is not acceptable, it may possibly help them to discover something better. The solution of questions like these, if indeed they are capable of a final solution, can only be reached by co-operation between Chinese students and those who have spent some time over the works of the Greek historians.

J. B. BURY.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE EMPIRE OF THE KHAZARS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

#### § 1. *The Khazars*

At the beginning of the ninth century the Eastern Empire had two dependencies, remote and isolated, which lived outside the provincial organization, and were governed by their own magistrates, Venice and Cherson. We have seen how Venice, in the reign of Theophilus, virtually became independent of Constantinople; under the same Emperor, the condition of Cherson was also changed, but in a very different sense—it was incorporated in the provincial system. The chief value of both cities to the Empire was commercial; Venice was an intermediary for Byzantine trade with the West, while Cherson was the great centre for the commerce of the North. And both cities lay at the gates of other empires, which were both an influence and a menace. If the people of the lagoons had to defend themselves against the Franks, the Chersonites had as good reason to fear the Khazars.

In the period with which we are concerned, it is probable that the Khan of the Khazars was of little less importance in the view of the Imperial foreign policy than Charles the Great and his successors. The marriage of an Emperor to the daughter of a Khazar king had signalised in the eighth century that Byzantium had interests of grave moment in this quarter of the globe, where the Khazars had formed a powerful and organized state, exercising control or influence over the barbarous peoples which surrounded them.

Their realm extended from the Caucasus northward to the Volga and far up the lower reaches of that river; it included

the basin of the Don, it reached westward to the banks of the Dnieper, and extended into the Tauric Chersonese. In this empire were included peoples of various race—the Inner Bulgarians, the Magyars, the Burdās, and the Goths of the Crimea; while the Slavonic state of Kiev paid a tribute to the Chagan. The Caucasian range divided the Khazars from Iberia and the dependencies of the Caliphate; towards the Black Sea their neighbours were the Alans and the Abasgi; the Dnieper bounded their realm on the side of Great Bulgaria; in the north their neighbours were the Bulgarians of the Volga, and in the east the Patzinaks. All these folks came within the view of Byzantine diplomacy; some of them were to play an important part in the destinies of the Eastern Empire.

The capital of the ruling people was situated on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Volga, and was generally known as Itil.<sup>1</sup> It was a double town built of wood. The western town was named Saryg-shār, or Yellow City, in which the Chagan resided during the winter; over against it was the eastern town of Chamlich or Khazarān, in which were the quarters of the Mohammadan and the Scandinavian merchants. Chamlich seems to have lain on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the river, while Saryg-shār was built on the island and on the western shore of the western mouth, the two portions being connected by a bridge of boats; so that Itil is sometimes described as consisting of three towns.<sup>2</sup> The island was covered with the fields and vineyards and gardens of the Chagan.

Three other important towns or fortresses of the Khazars lay between Itil and the Caspian gates. *Semender* was situated at the mouth of the Terek stream at Kizliar.<sup>3</sup> It was a place rich in vineyards, with a considerable Mohammadan population,

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Volga. The western arm of the delta was called Ugru (Westberg would read *Ulug*), the eastern Buzan. See Westberg, *K. analizu*, ii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rusta and Ibn Fadhlān speak of two towns or parts of the town (the former designates the eastern as Habu balyg). Masudi (Sprenger, 406-407) speaks of three parts, and places the King's palace in the island. This agrees with the Letter of Joseph, where

three towns are mentioned: in the largest of them is the Queen's palace, in the smallest the King's palace, between (i. around) whose walls flows the river. See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xlii. Saryg-shār was called al-Baidhā ("the white") by older Arabic writers (Westberg, *op. cit.* ii. 14). Westberg has shown that the later name of Itil was Saksin (*ib.* 37 sqq., and *Beiträge*, ii. 288 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> Westberg, *K. analizu*, ii. 41 sqq.

who lived in wooden houses with convex roofs.<sup>1</sup> The fortress of *Belenjer*, which lay on the lower course of the Sulek, on the road which leads southward from Kizliar to Petrovsk,<sup>2</sup> seems to have played some part in the earlier wars between the Khazars and the Saracens.<sup>3</sup> Further south still was the town of *Tarku*, on the road to Kaiakend and the Caspian gates.<sup>4</sup>

The Arabic writers to whom we owe much of our knowledge of Khazaria suggest a picture of agricultural and pastoral prosperity. The Khazars were extensive sheep-farmers;<sup>5</sup> their towns were surrounded by gardens and vineyards; they were rich in honey and wax; and had abundance of fish. The richest pastures and most productive lands in their country were known as the Nine Regions, and probably lay in the modern districts of Kuban and Ter.<sup>6</sup> The king and his court wintered in Itil, but in the spring they went forth and encamped in the plains.<sup>7</sup> According to one report, the Chagan had twenty-five wives, each the daughter of a king, and sixty concubines eminent for their beauty. Each of them had a house of her own, a *qubba* covered with teakwood, surrounded by a large pavilion, and each was jealously guarded by a eunuch who kept her from being seen.<sup>8</sup> But at a later period a Chagan boasts of his queen, her maidens, and eunuchs, and we are left to wonder whether polygamy had been renounced or was deliberately concealed.<sup>9</sup>

The Chagan himself seems to have taken no direct share in the administration of the state or the conduct of war. His sacred person was almost inaccessible; when he rode abroad, all those who saw him prostrated themselves on the ground and did not rise till he had passed out of sight. On his death, a great sepulchre was built with twenty chambers, suspended

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Haukal and Istachri describe it; see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xlii. n. 3, and i-2. Istachri says that it was governed by a prince who was a Jew and related to the Chagan. This refers to a period after the conversion to Judaism.

<sup>2</sup> Westberg, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> For the evidence see Marquart, *op. cit.* 16-17. He wrongly identifies Tarku with Somender.

<sup>4</sup> Westberg, *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Westberg, *op. cit.* ii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ ἐννέα κλίματα τῆς Χαζαρίας, from which was derived ἡ πᾶσα ζωὴ καὶ ἀφθασία τῆς Χ.; they were on the side towards the land of the Alans (see below). Const. *De adm. imp.* 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Gurdizl, p. 96 (tr. Barthold). See also *der chaz. Königsbrief*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Ibn Fadhlān (*Vet. Mem.*), 592; Marquart, xlii. n. 2. When the Chagan wished to embrace one of his consorts, her eunuch took her in an instant to his *qubba*, waited outside, and then reconducted her.

<sup>9</sup> *Der chaz. Königsbrief*, 79.



over a stream, so that neither devils nor men nor worms might be able to penetrate it. The mausoleum was called *paradise*, and those who deposited his body in one of its recesses were put to death, that the exact spot in which he was laid might never be revealed. A rider who passed it by dismounted, and did not remount until the tomb could be no longer seen. When a new Chagan ascended the throne, a silk cord was bound tightly round his neck and he was required to declare how long he wished to reign; when the period which he mentioned had elapsed, he was put to death. But it is uncertain how far we can believe the curious stories of the Arabic travellers, from whom these details are derived.<sup>1</sup>

We have no information at what time the active authority of the Chagan was exchanged for this divine nullity, or why he was exalted to a position, resembling that of the Emperor of Japan, in which his existence, and not his government, was considered essential to the prosperity of the State. The labours of government were fulfilled by a Beg or viceroy,<sup>2</sup> who commanded the army, regulated the tribute, and presided over the administration. He appeared in the presence of the Chagan with naked feet, and lit a torch; when the torch had burnt out he was permitted to take his seat at the right hand of the monarch. When evil times befell, the people held the Chagan responsible and called upon the Beg to put him to death; the Beg sometimes complied with their demand.<sup>3</sup> The commander of an army who suffered defeat was cruelly treated: his wife, children, and property were sold before his eyes, and he was either executed or degraded to menial rank.<sup>4</sup>

The most remarkable fact in the civilisation of this Turkish people was the conversion of the Chagan and the upper rank of society to Judaism. The religion of the Hebrews had exercised a profound influence on the creed of Islam, and it had been a basis of Christianity; it had won scattered prose-

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 592-593. He is called by Arabic writers the *ishād* (Gurdizi, tr. Barthold, 120; *isha*, Ibn Rustā; = *al-shād*, cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 24). But he was probably also known as the *bul-khan*, see below, p. 406, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Const. *De adm. imp.* 178, δ γὰρ

χαράς ἐκείνος καὶ ὁ πῆχ Χαζάριας (text δ καὶ πῆχ erroneously, which we could correct even without the right reading in *Cont. Th.* 122). Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 592. Cp. Masudi (Sprenger), 410.

<sup>3</sup> Masudi, *ib.* 411.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 593.

lytes; but the conversion of the Khazars to the undiluted religion of Jehovah is unique in history. The date of this event has been disputed, and the evidence variously assigns it to the first half of the eighth century or to the beginning of the ninth.<sup>1</sup> There can be no question that the ruler was actuated by political motives in adopting Judaism. To embrace Mohammadanism would have made him the spiritual dependent of the Caliphs, who attempted to press their faith on the Khazars, and in Christianity lay the danger of his becoming an ecclesiastical vassal of the Roman Empire. Judaism was a reputable religion with sacred books which both Christian and Mohammadan respected; it elevated him above the heathen barbarians, and secured him against the interference of Caliph or Emperor. But he did not adopt, along with circumcision, the intolerance of the Jewish cult. He allowed the mass of his people to abide in their heathendom and worship their idols.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstances of the conversion are as uncertain as the date. Joseph, the Chagan whose Hebrew letter to the Rabbi Chisdai of Cordova in the tenth century is preserved, states that the Roman Emperor and the Caliph, whom he respectively styles the King of Edom and the King of the Ishmaelites, sent embassies laden with rich gifts and accompanied by theological sages, to induce his ancestor to embrace their civilisations. The prince found a learned Israelite and set him to dispute with the foreign theologians. When he saw that they could

<sup>1</sup> For the former date, our authority is the Khazar tradition preserved in the Letter of Joseph; it is supported by Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 34. For the latter (reign of Harun), Masudi (Sprenger), 407. According to Joseph, the name of the King who was converted was *Bulan*, who passed through the Gates of Dariel and reached the land of Ardebil. We know from Arabic and Armenian sources that such an expedition was conducted by *Bulkhan* in A.D. 731. Bulkhan was the major-domo (ῥέχ), as Westberg says; and we may suspect that this was his title, not his name. Marquart (who denies the genuineness of Joseph's Letter) places the conversion to Judaism in the second half of the ninth century, after the mission of Constantine (*Streifzüge*, 5-17), on the ground that

in the accounts of that mission the Chagan is not represented as a Jew. But the Arabic accounts of the Khazars (Ibn Rusta, etc.), which depend on an older source prior to A.D. 850, assume the Judaism of the Khazars at that time. Marquart endeavours to explain away this evidence by assuming that it is a later addition of an intermediate source, Gaihani. The passage which he cites from the commentary on Matthew by Druthmar (on Matt. 24, 34, *Max. bibl. veterum patrum Lugdun.* xv. 158, 1677), who was writing soon after the conversion of the Bulgarians, proves nothing as to the chronology, except that the conversion of the Khazars was prior to A.D. 865, the date of the conversion of the Bulgarians. Cp. Westberg, *op. cit.* 36.

<sup>2</sup> So Gurdizi and Ibn Rusta.

not agree on a single point, he said, "Go to your tents and return on the third day." On the morrow, the Chagan sent for the Christian and asked him, "Which is the better faith, that of Israel or that of Islam?" and he replied, "There is no law in the world like that of Israel." On the second day the Chagan sent for the learned Mohammadan and said, "Tell me the truth, which law seems to you the better, that of Israel or that of the Christians?" And the Mohammadan replied, "Assuredly that of Israel." Then on the third day the Chagan called them all together and said, "You have proved to me by your own mouths that the law of Israel is the best and purest of the three, and I have chosen it."<sup>1</sup>

The truth underlying this tradition—which embodies the actual relation of Judaism to the two other religions—seems to be that endeavours were made to convert the Chagans both to Christianity and to Islam. And, as a matter of fact, in the reign of Leo III. the Caliph Marwan attempted to force the faith of Mohammad upon the Khazars, and perhaps succeeded for a moment. He invaded their land in A.D. 737, and marching by Belenjer and Semender, advanced to Itil. The Chagan was at his mercy, and obtained peace only by consenting to embrace Islam.<sup>2</sup> As Irene, who married the Emperor Constantine V., must have been the daughter or sister of this Chagan, it is clear that in this period there were circumstances tending to draw the Khazars in the opposite directions of Christ and Mohammad. And this is precisely the period to which the evidence of the Letter of Joseph seems to assign the conversion to Judaism. We may indeed suspect that Judaism was first in possession—a conclusion which the traditional

<sup>1</sup> *Der chaz. Königsbrief*, 74 sqq. In its main tenor this story coincides with that told by Bakri (whose source here Marquart considers to be Masudi, *Streifzüge*, 7). The Chagan had adopted Christianity, but found it to be a corrupt religion. He sent for a Christian bishop, who, questioned by a Jewish dialectician in the king's presence, admitted that the Law of Moses was true. He also sent for a Mohammadan sage, but the Jew contrived to have him poisoned on his journey. The Jew then succeeded in converting the king to the Mosaic religion. It is clear that the same

tradition, recorded by Joseph, has been modified, in the Arabic source, in a sense unfavourable to Christianity and favourable to Islam. In the twelfth century the Spanish poet Juda Halevi wrote a curious philosophical religious work in the form of a dialogue between a king of the Khazars and a Jewish rabbi. It has been translated into English by H. Hirschfeld (*Juda Halevi's Kitab al Khazari*, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> Baladhuri, *apud* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 12. The invasion of Marwan was a reprisal for an expedition of Khazars, who in A.D. 730 penetrated to Adarbeyan.

story *unintentionally* suggests.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish influence in Khazaria was due to the encouragement given by the Chagans to Hebrew merchants.<sup>2</sup> Of the Jewish port of Tamatarkha more will be said presently; and we may notice the Jewish population at Jundār, a town in the Caucasus, which was governed in the ninth century by a relation of the Chagan, who is said to have prayed impartially with the Moslems on Friday, with the Jews on Saturday, and with the Christians on Sunday.<sup>3</sup>

Somewhat later in the eighth century a princess of the Khazars married the Saracen governor of Armenia, and there was peace on the southern frontier till the reign of Harun al-Rashid.<sup>4</sup> In A.D. 798 another marriage alliance was arranged between a daughter of the Chagan and one of the powerful family of the Barmecides. The lady died in Albania on the way to her bridal, and the officers who were in charge of her reported to her father their suspicion that she had been poisoned. The suggestion infuriated the Chagan, and in the following year the Khazars invaded Armenia, by the Gates of Derbend, and returned with an immense booty in captives.<sup>5</sup> Then Harun's son, Mamun, carried his arms victoriously into the land of the Khazars.<sup>6</sup>

## § 2. *The Subjects and Neighbours of the Khazars*

The Khazars had never succeeded in extending their lordship over their neighbours the ALANS, whose territory extended from the Caucasus to the banks of the river Kuban and was bounded on the west by the Euxine. The Alans, who

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish rabbi who disputes is already on the spot. The Letter of Joseph gives the date as about 340 years before his own time (c. A.D. 960). 340 is clearly corrupt, and if we read 240 with Westberg (*op. cit.* ii. 84), we get c. A.D. 720 as the date.

<sup>2</sup> In the ninth century, Ibn Khurdadhbah mentions that Jewish merchants from Spain used to come regularly overland, through the country of the Slavs, to the capital of the Khazars (Chamlich). Marquart, *op. cit.* 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi, 190; Marquart, *op. cit.* 20.

<sup>4</sup> Baladhuri (Marquart, *op. cit.* 37).

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, *ib.* 5.

<sup>6</sup> The authority is Mukaddasi, who says that Mamun required the Chagan to embrace Islam (Marquart, *ib.* 3). Mamun governed Khurasan, under his father, from A.D. 799. He was also in Khurasan, as Caliph, between A.D. 813 and 818. Marquart does not decide the date of the campaign in Khazaria. It is natural to suppose that it was the reply to the Khazar invasion of A.D. 799, and to assign it to the earlier period; but *op. Marquart*, 476.

have survived to the present day under the name of the Ossetians, were a mainly pastoral people; their army consisted in cavalry; and they had a fortress, which was virtually impregnable, at the so-called Alan-gate of the Caucasus or Pass of Dariel.<sup>1</sup> We are told that the habitations of the people were so close together that when a cock crowed in one place he was answered by all the cocks in the rest of the kingdom. At some time before the tenth century the king adopted Christianity, but the mass of his subjects remained heathen.<sup>2</sup> He received his Christianity from Constantinople, and the Emperors appropriated to him the special title of *exusiastes*.<sup>3</sup> Between the Alans and the Khazars were the habitations of the SARIRS, a heathen people whose name does not come into the annals of Byzantium.<sup>4</sup>

North of the Alans, between the rivers Kuban and Don, the territory of the Khazars extended to the shores of the Maeotic lake,<sup>5</sup> and at the mouth of that water they possessed the important town of Tamatarkha, the modern Taman, which had arisen close to the ancient Phanagoria, over against the city of Bosphoros on the other side of the straits. The commercial importance of Tamatarkha, which had a large Jewish population, will claim our attention presently. Bosphoros itself, the ancient Pantikapaion, was under the control of the Khazars, and the Tetraxite Goths, who occupied the greater part of the Crimea, were subject to their sway. The Gothic capital, Doras, had been taken by the Khazars before A.D. 787, and in the following years the Goths, under the leadership of their bishop, had made an attempt to throw off the yoke of their powerful neighbours.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For descriptions of the Alans, see Gurdizi and Ibn Rusta, 193-194, and Masudi (Sprenger), 434 sqq. Cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 164 sqq. The King's title was *baghāyar* (Ibn R.) or *kar-kundāj* (Mas.). Arabic writers call the Alans Naudar, or Tūlash (?), with the second part of which Marquart connects the Georgian name *Ovsi* (= Old Russian *Fasi*), whence the modern *Ossetian*.

<sup>2</sup> That the Alans were still pagans in the ninth century is shown by Kulakovski, *Viz. Vrem.* v. 1 sqq. (1898).

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, *Cer.* 688. He was a spiritual son of the Emperors (*πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν τέκνον*).

<sup>4</sup> Of the Sarirs an account is preserved by Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi (187 sqq.), derived from their common ninth-century source.

<sup>5</sup> This country had been the habitation of the Utigurs—the *παλαιὰ Βουλγαρία* of Theophanes and Nicephorus. Cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 503. After the sixth century we hear nothing more of this people, but their descendants may have still been there, though of no political importance.

<sup>6</sup> Shestakov, *Pamiatniki*, 35 sq. *Viz. Joann. ep. Gottskiae*, 191. The bishop John was taken prisoner, but succeeded in escaping to Amastris.

North of the Don and extending to the banks of the Dnieper were the tents and hunting-grounds of the MAGYARS or Hungarians.<sup>1</sup> The continuous history of this Finnish people, who lived by hunting and fishing,<sup>2</sup> begins in the ninth century, and if we think we can recognise it under other names in the days of Attila and the early migrations, our conclusions are more or less speculative. It is, however, highly probable that the Magyars had lived or wandered for centuries in the regions of the Volga, had bowed to the sway of the great Hun, and had been affected by the manners of their Turkish neighbours.<sup>3</sup> They spoke a tongue closely akin to those of the Finns, the Ostyaks, the Voguls, and the Samoyeds, but it is likely that even before the ninth century it had been modified, in its vocabulary, by Turkish influence.<sup>4</sup> A branch of the people penetrated in the eighth century south of the Caucasus, and settled on the river Cyrus, east of Tiflis and west of Partav, where they were known to the Armenians by the name of Sevordik or "Black children."<sup>5</sup> These Black Hungarians, in the ninth century, destroyed the town of Shamkor, and the governor of Armenia repeopled it with Khazars who had been converted to Islam (A.D. 854-855).<sup>6</sup>

On the northern shore of the Sea of Azov, and extending towards the Dnieper, was the land of the Inner or BLACK BULGARIANS,<sup>7</sup> which thus lay between the Magyars and the

<sup>1</sup> For criticism of the Arabic sources (Gurdizi, etc.) see Westberg, *op. cit.* 20 sqq., *Beitr.* i. 24 sqq. Marquart, (*op. cit.* 30-31, 516) places the Hungarians between the Don and the Kuban, but his interpretation has been refuted by Westberg.

<sup>2</sup> Regino, *s.a.* 889, p. 132, ed. Kurze. This is an insertion of Regino in his general description which is transcribed from Justinus, ii. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart finds their ancestors in the Akatzirs (*op. Priscus*, fr. 8 in *F.H.G.* iv. 89; Jordanes, *Get.* c. 5) and the Unigurs (*op. cit.* 40 sqq.); but see the important work of K. Némäti, *Nagy-Magyarország ismeretlen történelmi okmányai* (1911), where the passage in the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville (ix. 2, § 66, in Migne, *P.L.* 82, 334) is fully discussed. He likewise identifies them with the Unigurs.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Marquart, 53. The basis of the Hungarian language was Ugrian,

but it was profoundly modified by Turkish. The well-known attempt of Vámbéry to prove that it was originally a Turkish tongue (in his *A magyarok eredete*) has not convinced me, nor has it persuaded Marquart, who has pertinent observations on the subject (49).

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, *Cer.* 687 *eis tovs γ' ἀρχοντας τῶν Σεβερτιῶν* (*leg. Σεβερτιῶν*, Marquart) τῶν λεγομένων μαύρα παῖδια. Hence Marquart explains Σεβερτιῶν δούλοι, said in *De adm. imp.* 169 to be the old name of the Hungarians, as "the lower Sevordik" (*op. cit.* 39-40); -ordik, children, he considers only an Armenian transformation by popular etymology of Orgik = Ugrians. See also W. Pécz in *B.Z.* vii. 201-202, 618-619.

<sup>6</sup> For this we have the good authority of Baladhuri, who calls the Sevordik *Sāvardā*. Marquart, *ib.* 36.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 337.

Gotha. The lower Dnieper seems to have formed the western boundary of the Khazar Empire, but their influence extended up that river, over some of the Eastern Slavs. The Slavs round Kiev<sup>1</sup> paid at one time tribute to the Chagan, who perhaps ensured them against the depredations of the Magyars.

On the central Volga was the extensive territory of the BURDĀS,<sup>2</sup> who were subject to the Khazars, and formed a barrier against the Outer Bulgarians, their northern neighbours, whose dominion lay on the Volga and its tributary the Kama, including the modern province of Kasan.<sup>3</sup>

If the Burdās served the Khazars as a barrier against the northern Bulgarians, they were also useful in helping to hold the PATZINAKS in check. This savage people possessed a wide dominion between the Volga and the Ural; their neighbours were, to the north-west the Burdās, to the north the Kipchaks, to the east the Uzes, to the south-west the Khazars. It would seem that some of their hordes pressed early in the ninth century, west of the Volga, into the basin of the Don, and became the formidable neighbours of the most easterly Slavonic tribes.<sup>4</sup>

### § 3. *The Russians and their Commerce*

Such, in the early part of the ninth century, was the general chart of the Turkish Empire of the Khazars, their clients, and their neighbours. Before we consider the import of this primitive world for the foreign policy of the Roman Empire, it is necessary to glance at yet another people, which was destined in the future to form the dominant state in the region of the Euxine and which, though its home still lay beyond

<sup>1</sup> The Poliane; see below, p. 412. Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 75, mentions that Kiev was called Samhata (which has not been satisfactorily explained; cp. Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 12; Marquart, 198). The capital of the Slavs, called Jirbab or Hruab by Ibn Rusta (179), Jirant by Gurdizi (178), is probably Kiev, and Westberg (*ib.* 24) would read in the texts *Chāyab*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi, 158 sqq. For the orthography see Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 14. He distinguishes the Burdās from the Mordvins, and shows that the river Burdās means the central course of the Volga, not a

tributary (*ib.* 19, and i. 385). Cp. Masudi (Sprenger) 412, and see Marquart, xxxiii. and 336.

<sup>3</sup> From their chief town, Bulgar, the Bulgarians could sail down the Volga to Itil in less than three weeks (Ibn Fadlan, 202).

<sup>4</sup> For the boundaries of the Patzinaks according to the early Arabic source of the ninth century, see Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 16 sqq., *Beitr.* i.:212-213. The Patzinaks or Pechenegs were known to the Slavs as the *Polotsi*, the name they bear in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Nestor.



the horizon of Constantinople and Itil, was already known to those cities by the ways of commerce. The RUSSIANS or Rūs were Scandinavians of Eastern Sweden who, crossing the Baltic and sailing into the Gulf of Finland, had settled on Lake Ilmen, where they founded the island town, known as Novgorod, the Holmgard of Icelandic Saga, at the point where the river Volkhov issues from the northern waters of the lake.<sup>1</sup> They were active traders, and they monopolized all the traffic of north-eastern Europe with the great capitals of the south, Constantinople, Baghdad, and Itil. Their chief wares were the skins of the castor and the black fox, swords, and men. The Slavs were their natural prey;<sup>2</sup> they used to plunder them in river expeditions, and often carry them off, to be transported and sold in southern lands. Many of the Slavs used to purchase immunity by entering into their service. The Russians did not till the soil, and consequently had no property in land; when a son was born, his father, with a drawn sword in his hand, addressed the infant: "I leave thee no inheritance; thou shalt have only what thou winnest by this sword." They were, in fact, a settlement of

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the Russians and their commerce is derived from the early Arabic source and from the somewhat later book of Ibn Khurdadhbih, as elucidated by Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 23 sqq. and i. 372 sqq. As for the Scandinavian (Swedish) origin of the Russians (Rūs 'Pōs), the evidence is overwhelming, and it is now admitted by all competent investigators. The theory that they were Slavs—of which Ilovaiski was the ablest exponent—was crushingly refuted by Pogodin, Kunik, and Thomsen. The "Norman" or "Varangian" question which raged in Russia at one time is no longer *sub iudice*. For a full examination of the data, the English reader should consult Thomsen's *Ancient Russia* (see Bibliography, ii. 5). The theory propounded by Vasil'evski, in his old age, that the Russians were (Crimean) Goths, and that Pōs is a corruption of *рав-по-кѣθαι*, may be mentioned as a curiosity.

<sup>2</sup> The general disposition of the Slavonic tribes, as the Russians found them, seems to have been as follows: the Krivichi (Κριβιτζαι, Constantine,

*De adm. imp.* 79), south of Novgorod, towards Smolensk; the Viaticchi, on the river Oka, south of Moscow; the Radimishchi, on the river Sozh', east of the Dnieper; the Siever, on the river Desna, which joins the Dnioper north of Kiev; the Poliane ("plain-men"), probably west of Kiev; the Drievliane ("men of the woods"; Δριβλιεῖναι, *Const. op. cit.* 166), perhaps north of the Poliane; the Dregovichii (Δρουγουβίται, *ib.* 79), between the rivers Pripet and Dniina; also the Tiver'tsi, on the Dniester (whom Schafarik, ii. 133, finds in Constantine, *ib.*, reading τῶν Τεφερβιδάρων for τῶν τε Β.), their neighbours the Uglichii (identified by Schafarik with Constantine's Οὐγκλίνου, *ib.* 166); the Bujani, so called from their habitation on the river Bug. Schafarik (ii. 113) explains Constantine's Δερζανῖνοι (*loc. cit.*) as Luchane, whom he considers a portion of the Krivitsi. The localities of these tribes are mainly determined by the data in Pseudo-Nestor. See further Schafarik, ii. sect. 28, and *op.* the relevant articles in Leger's Index to his *Chronique de Nestor*.

military merchants—it is said their numbers were 100,000—living by plunder and trade. They had a chief who received a tithe from the merchants.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian traders carried their wares to the south by two river routes, the Dnieper and the Volga. The voyage down the Dnieper was beset by some difficulties and dangers.<sup>2</sup> The boats of the Russians were canoes,<sup>3</sup> and were renewed every year. They rowed down as far as Kiev in the boats of the last season, and here they were met by Slavs, who, during the winter had cut down trees in the mountains and made new boats, which they brought down to the Dnieper and sold to the merchants. The gear and merchandise were transhipped, and in the month of June they sailed down to the fort of Vytytshev,<sup>4</sup> where they waited till the whole flotilla was assembled.<sup>5</sup> South of the modern Ekaterinoslav the Dnieper forces its way for some sixty miles through high walls of granite rock, and descends in a succession of waterfalls which offer a tedious obstacle to navigation.<sup>6</sup> The Slavs had their own names for these falls, which the Russians rendered into Norse. For instance, *Vlnyi-prag* was translated literally by *Baru-fors*, both names meaning “billowy waterfall,”<sup>7</sup> and this “force” is still called *Volnyi*, “the billowy.” In some cases the navigators, having unloaded the boats, could guide them through the fall; in others it was necessary to transport them, as well as their freights, for a considerable distance. This passage could not safely be made except in a formidable com-

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic writers designate him the Chagan of the Russians, and so he is called (*chaganus*) in *Ann. Bert.*, s.a. 889. This Turkish title was evidently applied to him by the Khazars, and was adopted from them by the Arabs and perhaps by the Greeks (in the letter of Theophilus to Lewis?).

<sup>2</sup> The following account is derived from Constantine, *De adm. imp.* c. 9. Though composed at a later time, when the Patzinaks were in the neighbourhood of the Dnieper, it obviously applies to the earlier period too.

<sup>3</sup> μονόξυλα, “one-plankers.”

<sup>4</sup> Вѣтѣбѣ. The name still exists.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine says that the merchants came not only from Novgorod, but also from Miliniska (Smolensk),

Chernigov, Vyshegrad, and Teliutsa (Liubech), but it is uncertain whether any of these settlements were prior to the settlement at Kiev.

<sup>6</sup> There are eleven *porogi* (waterfalls extending over the whole bed of the river), of which Constantine enumerates seven, and six *zabori* (only partial obstructions).

<sup>7</sup> The fifth in Constantine's enumeration: Βουλωνήραξ, Βαρουφόρος (*volna* is the Russian, *bára* the Old Norse, for “wave”). All the names are not quite so clear, but they have been explained, some with certainty, others probably, by Thomsen, *op. cit.* Lect. ii. These double names are one of the most important items in the overwhelming evidence for the fact that the Russians were Scandinavians.

pany; a small body would have fallen a prey to predatory nomads like the Hungarians and the Patzinaks. On reaching the Black Sea, they could coast westwards to Varna and Mesembria, but their usual route was to Cherson. There they supplied the demands of the Greek merchants, and then rounding the south of the peninsula, reached the Khazar town of Tamatarkha, where they could dispose of the rest of their merchandise to the Jewish traders, who in their turn could transport it to Itil, or perhaps to Armenia and Baghdad. But the Russians could also trade directly with Itil and Baghdad. The Volga carried them to Itil, where they lodged in the eastern town; then they embarked on the Caspian Sea and sailed to various ports within the Saracen dominion; sometimes from Jurjan they made the journey with camels to Baghdad, where Slavonic eunuchs served as their interpreters.

This commerce was of high importance both to the Emperor and to the Chagan, not only in itself, but because the Emperor levied a tithe at Cherson on all the wares which passed through to Tamatarkha, and the Chagan exacted the same duty on all that passed through Chamlich to the dominion of the Saracens. The identity of the amount of the duties, ten per cent, was the natural result of the conditions.

#### § 4. *Imperial Policy. The Russian Danger*

The first principle of Imperial policy in this quarter of the world was the maintenance of peace with the Khazars. This was the immediate consequence of the geographical position of the Khazar Empire, lying as it did between the Dnieper and the Caucasus, and thus approaching the frontiers of the two powers which were most formidable to Byzantium, the Bulgarians and the Saracens. From the seventh century, when Heraclius had sought the help of the Khazars against Persia, to the tenth, in which the power of Itil declined, this was the constant policy of the Emperors. The Byzantines and the Khazars, moreover, had a common interest in the development of commerce with Northern Europe; it was to the advantage of the Empire that the Chagan should exercise an effective control over his barbarian neighbours, that his influence should be felt in the basin of the Dnieper, and that

this route should be kept free for the trade of the north. It is not improbable that attempts had been made to convert the Khazars to Christianity, for no means would have been more efficacious for securing Byzantine influence at Itil. The Chagans were not impressed by the religion of Christ; but it was at least a matter for satisfaction at Byzantium that they remained equally indifferent to the religion of Mohammad.

While the relations of Constantinople and Itil were generally peaceful, there were, however, possibilities of war. The two powers were neighbours in the Crimea. We have seen how the sway of the Khazars extended over the Crimean Goths and the city of Bosphoros or Kerch, and it was their natural ambition to extend it over the whole peninsula, and annex Cherson. The loss of Cherson, the great commercial port and market-place in the north-east, would have been a sensible blow to the Empire. There were other forts in the peninsula, in the somewhat mysterious Roman territory or frontier which was known as the *Klimata* or Regions.<sup>1</sup> The business of defence was left entirely to the Chersonites; there was no Imperial officer or Imperial troops to repel the Khazars, who appear to have made raids from time to time. But Imperial diplomacy, in accordance with the system which had been elaborated by Justinian, discovered another method of checking the hostilities of the Khazars. The plan was to cultivate the friendship of the Alans, whose geographical position enabled them to harass the march of a Khazar army to the Crimea and to make reprisals by plundering the most fertile parts of the Khazar country. Thus in the calculations of Byzantine diplomacy the Alans stood for a check on the Khazars.<sup>2</sup>

The situation at Cherson and the movements in the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 80, 17, 180<sub>22</sub>. In the Fragments of the Toparcha Gothicus a single fort was called *Kλῆμαρα* (some think this the right orthography), and Westberg proposes to identify it with the Gothic fortress Doras. See Westberg's ed. of the Fragments (*Zap. imp. Ak. Nauk*, v. 2, 1901) pp. 83 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> This principle of policy is stated by Constantine VII. in the tenth

century, *De adm. imp.* 80, but it was equally applicable to the eighth or ninth. Constantine also points out that the Black Bulgarians could be used against the Khazars (*ib.* 81); and also the Uzes (80), who, however, were not on the horizon of Byzantium in the ninth century. The Patzinaks would have been available, if the Emperors had had cause to approach them.

surrounding countries must have constantly engaged the attention of the Imperial government, but till the reign of Theophilus no important event is recorded. This Emperor received (c. A.D. 833) an embassy from the Chagan and the Beg or chief minister of the Khazars, requesting him to build a fort for them close to the mouth of the Don,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps this fort was only to be the most important part of a long line of defence extending up that river and connected by a fosse with the Volga.<sup>2</sup> Theophilus agreed to the Chagan's proposal. He entrusted the execution of the work to an officer of spatharo-candidate rank, Petronas Kamateros, who sailed for Cherson with an armament of ships of the Imperial fleet, where he met another contingent of vessels supplied by the Katepano or governor of Paphlagonia.<sup>3</sup> The troops were re-embarked in ships of burden, which bore them through the straits of Bosphoros to the spot on the lower Don where this stronghold was to be built. As there was no stone in the place, kilns were constructed and bricks were prepared<sup>4</sup> by embedding pebbles from the river in a sort of asbestos. The fort was called in the Khazar tongue Sarkel, or White House, and it was guarded by yearly relays of three hundred men.<sup>5</sup>

When Petronas returned to Constantinople he laid a report of the situation before the Emperor and expressed his opinion that there was grave danger of losing Cherson, and that the best means of ensuring its safety would be to supersede the local

<sup>1</sup> The account will be found in Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 177 sqq. = *Cont. Th.* 122 sqq. The date seems to be soon after A.D. 832; for in *Cont. Th.* c. 26 *ad fin.* the elevation of John to the Patriarchate is dated; then, c. 27, prophecies are recorded relative to John; then c. 28 τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ("in the following year") there is warfare with the Saracens, and κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν the Khazar embassy arrives.

<sup>2</sup> For the position of Sarkel, see Westberg, *Beiträge*, i. 226. Ibn Rusta says that "the Khazars once surrounded themselves by a ditch, through fear of the Magyars and other neighbouring peoples"; see Marquart, 28, who suggests that Sarkel was connected with a whole line of defences. If so, the fosse would probably

begin where the line of the Don ended. The theory of Uspenski that Sarkel was built for the Empire, not for the Khazars, and in the reign of Leo VI., c. 904 A.D. (propounded in the *Kievskaja Starina*, May and June 1889), has found no adherents: it was answered by Vasil'evski, in the *Zhurnal min. nar. prosv.*, Oct. 1889, 273 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Petronas, on reaching Cherson, τὰ μὲν χεῖλανδια εἶπεν ἐν Χερσῶνι (*De adm. imp.* 178a). I formerly suspected εἶπεν (*B.Z.* xv. 570), but now see that it means "found the Paphlagonian chelandia" already there.

<sup>4</sup> βήσαλον = *bessalis* (later).  
<sup>5</sup> ἐν ᾧ ταξέσθαι καθέσθαι τὰ κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενα, *De adm. imp.* 177, where τὰ is clearly an error for τ' (*Cont. Th.*, *ib.*, has τριακόσιοι).

magistrates and commit the authority to a military governor.<sup>1</sup> The advice of Petronas was adopted, and he was himself appointed the first governor, with the title of "Stratêgos of the Klimata."<sup>2</sup> The magistrates of Cherson were not deposed, but were subordinated to the stratêgos.

In attempting to discover the meaning and motives of these transactions we must not lose sight of the close chronological connexion between the service rendered by the Greeks to the Khazars, in building Sarkel, and the institution of the stratêgos of Cherson. The latter was due to the danger of losing the city, but we are not told from what quarter the city was threatened. It is evident that the Khazars at the same moment felt the need of defence against some new and special peril. The fortification cannot have been simply designed against their neighbours the Magyars and the Patzinaks; for the Magyars and Patzinaks had been their neighbours long. We can hardly go wrong in supposing that the Khazars and the Chersonites were menaced by the same danger, and that its gravity had been brought home both to the Emperor and to the Khazar ruler by some recent occurrence. The jeopardy which was impending over the Euxine lands must be sought at Novgorod.

It was not likely that the predatory Scandinavians would be content with the gains which they earned as peaceful merchants in the south. The riches of the Greek towns on the Euxine tempted their cupidity, and in the reign of Theophilus, if not before, they seem to have descended as pirates into the waters of that sea,<sup>3</sup> to have plundered the coasts, perhaps venturing into the Bosphorus,<sup>4</sup> and especially to

<sup>1</sup> Shestakov, *op. cit.* 44, thinks that the danger may have been the disloyalty of the citizens. A certain disloyalty is not impossible, for the Chersonese had been a refuge for many monks during the persecution of the iconoclasts, and there may have prevailed a feeling highly unfavourable to Theophilus; but there was no real danger of Cherson inviting the rule of another power.

<sup>2</sup> This was the official title (*Takt. Uspenski*, 123).

<sup>3</sup> The evidence for these early Russian hostilities, unnoticed by the chroniclers, is to be found in the *Life*

of *St. George of Amastris* and the *Life of St. Stephen of Surazh* (Sugdaia). Vasil'evski (who has edited the texts in *Russko-vizantiiskii Izhiedovanie*, Vyp. 2, 1893, a work which it is impossible to procure) seems to have shown that the whole legend of George of Amastris (whose *Vita* he would ascribe to Ignatius the deacon) was complete before A.D. 843. See V. Jagić in *Archiv f. slavische Philologie*, xvi. 216 sqq. (1894).

<sup>4</sup> See *Vita Georg. Am. (vers. Lat., A.S. April 23, t. iii. 278)*: "a Propon-tide cladem auspici omnemque oram maritimam depasti." It should be

have attacked the wealthy and well-walled city of Amastris, which was said to have been saved by a miracle. We also hear of an expedition against the Chersonese, the despoiling of Cherson, and the miraculous escape of Sugdaia.<sup>1</sup> Such hostings of Russian marauders, a stalwart and savage race, provide a complete explanation of the mission of Petronas to Cherson, of the institution of a stratêgos there, and of the co-operation of the Greeks with the Khazars in building Sarkel. In view of the Russian attack on Amastris, it is significant that the governor of Paphlagonia assisted Petronas; and we may conjecture with some probability that the need of defending the Pontic coasts against a new enemy was the motive which led to the elevation of this official from the rank of katepano to the higher status of a stratêgos.

The timely measures adopted by Theophilus were efficacious for the safety of Cherson. That outpost of Greek life was ultimately to fall into the hands of the Russians, but it remained Imperial for another century and a half; and when it passed from the possession of Byzantium, the sacrifice was not too dear a price for perpetual peace and friendship with the Russian state, then becoming a great power.

Some years after the appointment of the stratêgos of Cherson, Russian envoys arrived at the court of Theophilus (A.D. 838-839). Their business is not recorded; perhaps they came to offer excuses for the recent hostilities against the Empire. But they seem to have dreaded the dangers of the homeward journey by the way they had come. The Emperor was dispatching an embassy to the court of Lewis the Pious. He committed the Russians to the care of the ambassadors, and in his letter to Lewis requested that sovran to facilitate their return to their own country through Germany.<sup>2</sup>

noted that the Russians were also a danger for Trapezus (Trebizond), a great entrepôt for trade between Roman and Saracen merchants (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 136), though we do not hear that they attacked it.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the *Life of Stephen*, see the passage of the Russian Chronicle of Novgorod (A.M. 6860) quoted by Muralt, *Chron. byz.* 426-427 (s.a. 842). A Russian band of Novgorodians, under

Prince Bravalin, sailing from Cherson to Kereh, attacked Surozh, which was saved by the miraculous intervention of St. Stephen. The date 6860 would be 852; but the dates of the Russian chronicles for this period are untrustworthy. Pseudo-Nestor, for instance, places the accession of Michael III. in 852.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Bert.*, s.a. 839. The embassy arrived at the court of Lewis in April or May. It is quite possible that these



In their settlement at Novgorod, near the Baltic, the Russians were far away from the Black Sea, to the shores of which their traders journeyed laboriously year by year. But they were soon to form a new settlement on the Dnieper, which brought them within easy reach of the Euxine and the Danube. The occupation of Kiev is one of the decisive events in Russian history, and the old native chronicle assigns it to the year 862. If this date is right, the capture of Kiev was preceded by one of the boldest marauding expeditions that the Russian adventurers ever undertook.

In the month of June, A.D. 860,<sup>1</sup> the Emperor, with all his forces, was marching against the Saracens. He had probably gone far<sup>2</sup> when he received amazing tidings, which recalled him with all speed to Constantinople. A Russian host had sailed across the Euxine in two hundred boats,<sup>3</sup> entered the Bosphorus, plundered the monasteries and suburbs on its banks, and overrun the Islands of the Princes.<sup>4</sup> The inhabitants of the city were utterly demoralised by the sudden horror of the danger and their own impotence. The troops (Tagmata) which were usually stationed in the neighbourhood of the city were far away with the Emperor and his uncle;<sup>5</sup> and the fleet was absent. Having wrought wreck and ruin in

Russians belonged to a different community from those who had attacked Cherson and Amastris. Novgorod was hardly the only settlement at this time. But here we are quite in the dark. For the embassy see above, p. 273.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the Russian expedition (which used to be placed in A.D. 866) is now incontrovertibly fixed to A.D. 860 by the investigation of de Boor (*Der Angriff der Rhdn.*). The decisive proof is the notice in a brief anonymous chronicle (from Julius Caesar to Romanns III.) published by Cumont, *Anecdota Bruzelliensis*, I. *Chroniques byzantines du Mœr.* [Brux.] 11, 376 (Ghent, 1894). The passage is ἡλθον ῥῆς πονηρῆς ναυτικῆς διακοσίας ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡττήθησαν τε καὶ ἡφανίσθησαν, June 18, ind. 8, A.M. 6368, in fifth year of Michael III. Note the accurate statement of the date (Michael's sole reign began in March 856). The chronological data supplied by Nicetas, *Vita*

*Ign.*, are in perfect accordance. The other sources for the episode are Photius, *Homiliæ*, 51 and 52; Simeon (Leo. Gr. 240-241); Joann. Ven. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Simeon (*Cont. Georg.* ed. Mnralt, 736; *vers. Slav.* 106) γεγενημένου ἤδη κατὰ τὸν Μαυροβράχυν. This place (cp. above, p. 274, n. 4) has not been certainly identified.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Cumont, and Simeon. Joann. Ven. says 360.

<sup>4</sup> Nicetas, *Vita Ign.* 236: "The bloody race of the Scythians, αὶ λεγόμενα ῥῆς, having come through the Euxine to the Stenon (Bosphorus) and plundered all the places and all the monasteries, overran likewise the islands around Byzantium." The ex-Patriarch, then at Terebinthos, was in danger.

<sup>5</sup> The absence of Bardas seems a safe inference, as only Ooryphas the prefect is mentioned as being left in charge (Simeon). For Ooryphas see above, Chap. IV. p. 144.

the suburbs, the barbarians prepared to attack the city. At this crisis it was perhaps not the Prefect and the ministers entrusted with the guardianship of the city in the Emperor's absence who did most to meet the emergency. The learned Patriarch, Photius, rose to the occasion; he undertook the task of restoring the moral courage of his fellow-citizens. If the sermons which he preached in St. Sophia were delivered as they were written, we may suspect that they can only have been appreciated by the most educated of his congregation. His copious rhetoric touches all sides of the situation, and no priest could have made better use of the opportunity to inculcate the obvious lesson that this peril was a punishment for sin, and to urge repentance.<sup>1</sup> He expressed the general feeling when he dwelt on the incongruity that the Imperial city, "queen of almost all the world," should be mocked by a band of slaves, a mean and barbarous crowd.<sup>2</sup> But the populace was perhaps more impressed and consoled when he resorted to the ecclesiastical magic which had been used efficaciously at previous sieges. The precious garment of the Virgin Mother was borne in procession round the walls of the city;<sup>3</sup> and it was believed that it was dipped in the waters of the sea for the purpose of raising a storm of wind.<sup>4</sup> No storm arose, but soon afterwards the Russians began to retreat, and perhaps there were not many among the joyful citizens who did not impute their relief to the direct intervention of the queen of heaven. Photius preached a sermon of thanksgiving as the enemy were departing;<sup>5</sup> the miraculous deliverance was an inspiring motive for his eloquence.

It would be interesting to know whether Photius re-

<sup>1</sup> In his first sermon (*Hom.* 51). Gerland (in a review of the ed. of the *Homilies* by Aristarchos), in *Neue Jahrb. f. das klassische Altertum*, xi., 1908, p. 719 suggests that this address may have been delivered on June 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Hom.* 51, p. 20 (*Βασιλικὴ καὶ πανευχὴ χεῖρ*). The absence of troops is referred to, p. 17: "Where is the Basileus? where are the armies? the arms, machines, counsels, and preparations of a general? Are not all these withdrawn to meet the attack of other barbarians?" It is to be observed (*cp. de Boor, op. cit.* 462) that in this sermon there is no reference to the

relic of the Virgin; the preacher insists exclusively on human efforts.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom.* 52, p. 42. Simeon erroneously represents the Emperor as present at the ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Simeon, *loc. cit.*, according to which the wind immediately rose in a dead calm. But in his second sermon Photius represents the Russians as retreating unaffected by a storm. *Joann.* Ven. 117 lets them return home in triumph.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom.* 52. The Emperor was not yet in the city (p. 42; *cp. de Boor*, 460).

garded the ceremony which he had conducted as a powerful means of propitiation, or rather valued it as an efficacious sedative of the public excitement. He and all who were not blinded by superstition knew well that the cause which led to the sudden retreat of the enemy was simple, and would have sufficed without any supernatural intervention. It is evident that the Russians became aware that the Emperor and his army were at hand, and that their only safety lay in flight.<sup>1</sup> But they had delayed too long. Michael and Bardas had hurried to the scene, doubtless by forced marches, and they must have intercepted the barbarians and their spoils in the Bosphorus. There was a battle and a rout;<sup>2</sup> it is possible that high winds aided in the work of destruction.<sup>3</sup>

The Russians had chosen the moment for their surprise astutely. They must have known beforehand that the Emperor had made preparations for a campaign in full force against the Saracens. But what about the fleet? Modern historians have made this episode a text for the reproach that the navy had been allowed to fall into utter decay. We have seen, on the contrary, that the Amorians had revived the navy, and the impunity which the barbarians enjoyed until the arrival of the Emperor must be explained by the absence of the Imperial fleet. And, as a matter of fact, it was absent in the west. The Sicilian fortress of Castrogiovanni had been captured by the Moslems in the previous year, and a fleet of 300 ships had been sent to Sicily.<sup>4</sup> The possibility of an attack from the north did not enter into the calculations of the government. It is clear that the Russians must have been informed of the absence of the fleet, for otherwise they would never have ventured in their small boats into the jaws of certain death.

<sup>1</sup> This is obviously the true explanation of the sudden retreat, which began spontaneously, before the battle. It is impossible to accept Gerland's view that the battle was fought during the procession, perhaps in sight of the praying people.

<sup>2</sup> Of the battle we know no more than the notice in Anon. Camont. Simeon ascribes the destruction entirely to the miraculous storm. How the land forces of the Emperor operated against the boats of the enemies we can only con-

jecture; but possibly on receiving the news he had ordered ships to sail from Amastris to the Bosphorus. Two iambic poems on the Church of Blachernae, *Anthol. Pal.* i. 120, 121, most probably refer to the rout of the Russians. Cp. 121, vv. 10, 11:

ἐνταῦθα νικησάσα τοὺς ἐναντίους  
ἀνέλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντὶ λόγγης ἐκείνου.

where Stadtmüller *ad loc.* misses the point by proposing *ειρήνη*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Gerland, *op. cit.* 720.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 307.

The episode was followed by an unexpected triumph for Byzantium, less important in its immediate results than as an augury for the future. The Northmen sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and—this is the Byzantine way of putting it—besought the Emperor for Christian baptism. We cannot say which, or how many, of the Russian settlements were represented by this embassy, but the object must have been to offer amends for the recent raid, perhaps to procure the deliverance of prisoners. It is certain that some of the Russians agreed to adopt Christianity, and the Patriarch Photius could boast (in A.D. 866) that a bishop had been sent to teach the race which in cruelty and deeds of blood left all other peoples far behind.<sup>1</sup> But the seed did not fall on very fertile ground. For upwards of a hundred years we hear no more of the Christianity of the Russians. The treaty, however, which was concluded between A.D. 860 and 866, led probably to other consequences. We may surmise that it led to the admission of Norse mercenaries into the Imperial fleet<sup>2</sup>—a notable event, because it was the beginning of the famous Varangian<sup>3</sup> service at Constantinople, which was ultimately to include the Norsemen of Scandinavia as well as of Russia, and even Englishmen.

It has been already observed that the attack upon Constantinople happened just before the traditional date of a far more important event in the history of Russia—the foundation of the principality of Kiev. According to the old Russian chronicle,<sup>4</sup> Rurik was at this time the ruler of all the Scandinavian settlements, and exercised sway over the northern Slavs and some of the Finns. Two of his men, Oskold and Dir,<sup>5</sup> set out with their families for Constantinople, and, coming to the Dnieper, they saw a castle on a mountain. On enquiry they learned that it was Kiev, and that its inhabitants paid tribute to the Khazars. They settled in the place, gathered many Norsemen to them, and ruled over the

<sup>1</sup> Photius, *Ep.* 4, p. 178. The Russians are said to have placed themselves *ἐν ὑπερώτοις καὶ προτέτοις τόποις*. *ὁ πρ.* refers to ecclesiastical dependence, *πρὸς* to political friendship. The other source is *Cont. Th.* 196.

<sup>2</sup> Under Leo VI. (A.D. 902) there were 700 *Ῥῶς* in the fleet (Constantine, *Cer.* 651).

<sup>3</sup> The connotation of *Varangian* is equivalent to *Norse* or *Scandinavian*. Arabic geographers and Pseudo-Nestor call the Baltic "the Varangian Sea." In Kekaumenos (ed. Vasilievski and Jernstedt) 97 Harald Hardrada is "son of the Emperor of Varangia."

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Nestor, xv. p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Scandinavian names.

neighbouring Slavs, even as Rurik ruled at Novgorod. Some twenty years later Rurik's son Oleg came down and put Oskold and Dir to death, and annexed Kiev to his sway. It soon overshadowed Novgorod in importance, and became the capital of the Russian state. It has been doubted whether this story of the founding of Kiev is historical, but the date of the foundation, in chronological proximity to A.D. 860, is probably correct.<sup>1</sup>

### § 5. *The Magyars*

The Russian peril had proved a new bond of common interest between the Empire and the Khazars, and during the reign of Michael (before A.D. 862),<sup>2</sup> as we have seen, a Greek missionary, Constantine the Philosopher, made a vain attempt to convert them to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

About this time a displacement occurred in the Khazar Empire which was destined to lead to grave consequences not only for the countries of the Euxine but for the history of Europe. At the time of Constantine's visit to the Khazars, the home of the Magyars was still in the country between the Dnieper and the Don, for either in the Crimea itself or on his journey to Itil, which was probably by way of the Don, his party was attacked by a hand of Magyars.<sup>4</sup> A year or two later the Magyar people crossed the Dnieper.

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Nestor's date is A.M. 6370 = A.D. 862 (but events extending over a considerable time are crowded into his narrative here). The chronicler attributes to Oskold and Dir the attack on Constantinople, which he found in the Chronicle of Simeon and dates to A.D. 866. I am inclined to think that there is a certain measure of historical truth in the Pseudo-Nestor tradition, if we do not press the exact date. If Kiev was founded shortly before A.D. 860 as a settlement independent of Novgorod, and if the Kiev Russians attacked Ople, we can understand the circumstances of the conversion. It was the rulers of Kiev only who accepted baptism, and when the pagans of Novgorod came and slew them a few years later, Christianity, though we may conjecture that it was not wiped out, ceased to enjoy official recognition.

<sup>2</sup> The posterior limit is usually given as A.D. 863 (the latest date for

the embassy of Rostislav, see above, p. 393); but we can limit it further by the Magyar incident, cp. Appendix XII. The circumstance that in A.D. 854-855, Bugha, the governor of Armenia and Adarbiyan, settled Khazars, who were inclined to Islam, in Sham-kor (see above, p. 410, n. 6), may, as Marquart suggests (*Streifzüge*, 24), have some connexion with the religious wavering of the Chagan.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 394 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Constantini*, c. 8. The attack of the Hungarians is related before Constantine (c. 9) starts for the country of the Khazars, to which he is said to have sailed by the Maeotis. If this order of events is accurate, we must suppose that the Magyars made an incursion into the Crimea, and perhaps the incident occurred in the territory of the Goths. See Appendix XII.

The cause of this migration was the advance of the Patzinaks from the Volga. We may guess that they were pressed westward by their Eastern neighbours, the Uzes; we are told that they made war upon the Khazars and were defeated, and were therefore compelled to leave their own land and occupy that of the Magyars.<sup>1</sup> The truth may be that they made an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Khazaria, and then turned their arms against the Magyar people, whom they drove beyond the Dnieper.<sup>2</sup> The Patzinaks thus rose above the horizon of the Empire and introduced a new element into the political situation. They had no king; they were organized in eight tribes, with tribal chiefs, and each tribe was subdivided into five portions under subordinate leaders. When a chief died he was succeeded by a first cousin or a first cousin's son; brothers and sons were excluded, so that the chieftainship should be not confined to one branch of the family.<sup>3</sup>

The Magyars now took possession of the territory lying between the Dnieper and the lower reaches of the Pruth and the Seret<sup>4</sup>—a country which had hitherto belonged to the dominion of the Khans of Bulgaria. They were thus close to the Danube, but the first use they made of their new position was

<sup>1</sup> Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 169. In the later movement of the Patzinaks to the west of the Dnieper (in the reign of Leo VI.), we are expressly told that they were driven from their land by the Uzes and Khazars, *ib.* 164.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine says that a portion of the Magyars joined their kinsmen, the *Sabertoi asphaloi* in "Persia," i.e. the Sevodrik in Armenia (see above p. 410).

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, *ib.* 165. He gives the names of the eight *γεγαυ* or *θέματα*, in two forms, simple and compound, e.g. Tzur and Kuarti-tzur, Ertem and labdi-ertem.

<sup>4</sup> This country was called (by the Hungarians or Patzinaks, or both) Atel-kuzu: Constantine, *ib.* 169 *eis τόποις τοῖς ἐπονομαζομένοις Ἀτελκούζου*. The name is explained, *ib.* 173, as *κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκείσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζού* (where there seems to be an error in the text, as Ἐ. καὶ Κ., two rivers, is inconsistent with τοῦ ποταμοῦ) and p. 171

it is said to be called *κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐκείσε ὄντων ποταμῶν*, which are enumerated as the Βαρούχ (= Dnieper, cp. Var in Jordanes, *Get.* c. 52, and Boiy-sthenes), the Κουβού (= Bug), the Τροῦλλον (= Dniester: Turla, Tyras, cp. Roesler, 154), the Βροβρον (= Pruth), and the Σέπερον. *Atel* or *Etel* means *river* (and was specially applied to the Volga—the "Itil"—cp. Constantine, *ib.* 164). Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, 751), Kuun (*Relat. Hung.* i. 189), Marquart (*op. cit.* 83), explain *kuzu* as *between* (cp. Hungarian *köz*, in geographical names like Szamos-köz); so that Atelkuzu would mean *Mesopotamia*. But Westberg (*Kanal.* ii. 48) explains *Kocho* in the *Geography* of Pseudo-Moses as the Dnieper, and identifies the name with Kuzu. He supposes that in Constantine, p. 169, the true reading is (as on p. 173), Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζού, and that Atel and Kuzu were alternative names (καὶ= "or") for the region of the lower Dnieper.

not against Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 862 they showed how far they could strike by invading territories in central Europe which acknowledged the dominion of Lewis the German,<sup>2</sup> the first of that terrible series of invasions which were to continue throughout a hundred years, until Otto the Great won his crushing victory at Augsburg. If we can trust the accounts of their enemies, the Magyars appear to have been a more terrible scourge than the Huns. It was their practice to put all males to the sword, for they believed that warriors whom they slew would be their slaves in heaven; they put the old women to death; and dragged the young women with them, like animals, to serve their lusts.<sup>3</sup> Western writers depict the Hungarians of this period as grotesquely ugly, but, on the other hand, Arabic authors describe them as handsome. We may reconcile the contradiction by the assumption that there were two types, the consequence of blending with other races. The original Finnish physiognomy had been modified by mixture with Iranian races in the course of many generations, during which the Magyars, in the Caucasian regions, had pursued their practice of women-lifting.<sup>4</sup>

Up to the time of their migration the Magyars, like the Patzinaks, had no common chieftain, but among the leaders of their seven tribes<sup>5</sup> one seems to have had a certain pre-eminence. His name was Lebedias,<sup>6</sup> and he had married a noble Khazar lady, by whom he had no children. Soon after the crossing of the Dnieper, the Chagan of the Khazars, who still claimed the rights of suzerainty over them, proposed to the Magyars to create Lebedias ruler over the whole people. The story is that Lebedias met the Chagan—but we must interpret this to mean the Beg—at Kalancha in the gulf of Perekop,<sup>7</sup> and refused the offer for himself, but suggested

<sup>1</sup> Their attack on the Slavs of Kiev cannot be dated. Pseudo-Nestor, xix., p. 12; Marquart, *op. cit.* 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Bert.* (Hincmar), s.a. "sed et hostes antea illis populis inexpectati qui Ungri vocantur regnum eiusdem populantur."

<sup>3</sup> *Cp. Ann. Sangall.*, s.a. 894 (*M.G.H. Ser. I.*).

<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis is Marquart's, *op. cit.* 144.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine (*op. cit.* 172) gives the names of the tribes: Neké,

Megeré (= Magyar?), Kurtygermatu, Tarianu, Genakh, Karé, Kasé. *Cp. Knun*, i. 148-158.

<sup>6</sup> Knun (*op. cit.* i. 205, 208) thinks that Lebedias is identical with Elend of the Notary of King Béla. His title was, no doubt, *Kende*, see Ibn Rusta, 167.

<sup>7</sup> Constantine, *op. cit.* 169 τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλῆναι Χελάνδια τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν βοέβοδον. Banduri saw that Χελάνδια was a proper name, and εἰς has probably fallen out of the text. See Knun, i. 208, Marquart, 35.

Salmutzes,<sup>1</sup> another tribal chief, or his son Arpad. The Magyars declared in favour of Arpad, and he was elevated on a shield, according to the custom of the Khazars, and recognized as king. In this way the Khazars instituted kingship among the Magyars. But while this account may be true so far as it goes, it furnishes no reason for such an important innovation, and it is difficult to see why the Khazar government should have taken the initiative. We shall probably be right in connecting the change with another fact, which had a decisive influence on Magyar history. Among the Turks who composed the Khazar people, there was a tribe—or tribes—known as the Kabars, who were remarkable for their strength and bravery. About this time they rose against the Chagan; the revolt was crushed; and those who escaped death fled across the Dnieper and were received and adopted by the Magyars, to whose seven tribes they were added as an eighth. Their bravery and skill in war enabled them to take a leading part in the counsels of the nation. We are told that they taught the Magyars the Turkish language, and in the tenth century both Magyar and Turkish were spoken in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> The result of this double tongue is the mixed character of the modern Hungarian language, which has supplied specious argument for the two opposite opinions as to the ethnical affinities of the Magyars.<sup>3</sup> We may suspect that the idea of introducing kingship was due to the Kabars, and it has even been conjectured that Arpad belonged to this Turkish people which was now permanently incorporated in the Hungarian nation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almus in the Hungarian chronicles. On Arpad's date, see Appendix XII.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine, *op. cit.* 171-172. Vámbéry, *A magyarok eredete*, 140, explains the name Kabar as "insurgent."

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 410, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart makes this assertion (*op. cit.* 52), basing it on the passage in Constantine (*op. cit.* 172<sub>14-21</sub>), where, he observes, of Κάβαροι is the

subject throughout, and consequently τὸν Λεβέντιον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀρπάδου εἶχον ἀρχοῦντα means that Levente, Arpad's son, was ruler of the Kabars. I cannot accept this strict interpretation of the grammar. I feel sure that the subject of the verbs (διεπέρασεν, εἶχον, etc.) is not the Kabars, but the Hungarians (οἱ Τοῦρκοι), who include the Kabars. Levente was ἀρχὴν of the Hungarians.

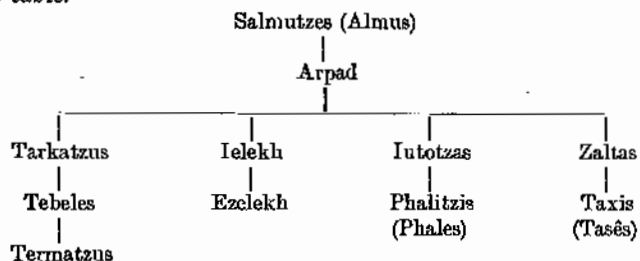


## APPENDIX XII

### THE MAGYARS

#### 1. Date of the Second Magyar Migration (to Atelkuzu)

WESTBERG has put forward a new view as to the date of the migration of the Hungarians to Atelkuzu (in *K anal.* ii. 49-51) which he places c. A.D. 825. His argument is based on a passage in Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 175, relating to the four sons and four grandsons of Arpad. The descent may conveniently be represented in a table.



When Constantine was writing (A.D. 950-952), Phalitzis was the Hungarian king (*τὸν νυνὶ ἀρχοντα*), Tebeles was dead, and his son Termatzus was adult and had recently visited Constantinople on an embassy (*ὁ ἀπρίως ἀνελθὼν φίλος* mistranslated by Westberg, as by most others).<sup>1</sup> Westberg infers that Tebeles died not later than 945, and that the surviving grandsons of Arpad, Phalitzis and Taxis,<sup>2</sup> were advanced in years. Reckoning thirty years to a generation, he goes on to place the death of Tarkatzus about 915, that of Arpad c. 885, that of Salmutzes c. 855. At the time of the elevation of Arpad, Salmutzes was alive and considered (by Lebedias) capable of ruling the Magyar nation. Therefore the election of Arpad must belong to the second quarter of the ninth century, not later than A.D. 850. But the migration to Atelkuzu occurred not long before Arpad's election (*De adm. imp.* 169<sub>14</sub>); so

<sup>1</sup> I have pointed this out in *B.Z.* xv. 562.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that Taxis and Tasés are the same. Pecz, however, has conjectured that Tasés was a son of Liuntis or Levente,

who, he thinks, was the eldest son of Arpad (*B.Z.* vi. 587-588). But the passage implies that Tasés has been already mentioned, and the identification with Taxis seems inevitable.

"the presence of the Magyars in Atelkuzu covers the period from approximately 825 to 895."

This argumentation carries no conviction. We can readily accept 885 as the approximate date of Arpad's death, for c. 889 his son Levente (who is not mentioned in this passage) was king. But this does not necessitate the inference that Arpad was elected before 850, or even before 860. Suppose that he was sixty years old when he died; then he would have been born in 825. Suppose that Salmutzes, his father, was then twenty-five years old, he would have been sixty, a "hodrii starik," in 860. This hypothesis, which might be varied (there is no reason to suppose that Arpad was old when he died; he may have been much younger than sixty), is sufficient to show that Westberg's reasoning is arbitrary, and that the data admit of no such conclusion as he draws.

Our fixed date *ante quem* for the first migration of the Magyars is A.D. 862, the year in which they invaded the empire of the Franks, for it is improbable that this invasion was undertaken before they had settled west of the Dnieper. Our fixed date *post quem* is the time of the visit of Constantine the Philosopher to Cherson and the Khazars, which we can only define approximately as before A.D. 863 (see above, p. 396). At that time, as we learn from the *Vita Constantini*, the Magyars were still in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Although there are many unhistorical details in this *Vita*, the episode of the Hungarians evidently preserves a genuine fact, for when the *Vita* was written the Hungarians were far away, and no inventor of fiction would have dreamed of introducing them on the scene. Westberg (*ib.* 51) admits the genuineness of the notice, but seems to think that the Hungarians invaded the Crimea from Atelkuzu. This is possible, but less probable; once they left their old seats, they were not likely to return across the Dnieper and trespass on the hunting grounds of the Patzinaks, whom they dreaded.

As the mission of Constantine was probably about A.D. 860, we can deduce A.D. 860-861 as a probable date for the first historical migration of the Magyars. Their second migration, to their abiding home, occurred about 895, so that their period in Atelkuzu was about forty years. The election of Arpad may be placed roughly about A.D. 860.

The appearance of the Magyars west of the Dnieper c. A.D. 837 (see above, p. 371) proves only that, as we should expect, they made predatory expeditions into Atelkuzu long before they occupied it.

## 2. Date of the First Magyar Migration (to Lebedia)

The question of the date of the migration of the Magyars into their earlier home between the Don and Dnieper is more difficult.

According to Constantine (*op. cit.* 168) they called this territory *Lebedia*, after the name of their most important tribal leader, Lebedias. I take this to mean that in later times, when they were in Atelkuzu and Hungary, they described this territory, having no other name for it, as the country of Lebedias—the country which they associated with his leadership. According to the text of Constantine, *ib.*, they occupied this country, on the borders of the land of the Khazars, for three years (*ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς*). This is certainly an error; and we can indeed refute it from Constantine himself, who goes on to say that during this period the Magyars fought for the Khazars “in all their wars,” a statement which naturally presupposes a much longer period. The probability is that there is a textual error in the number. Westberg (*ib.* 51) proposes to read *τριάκοντα τρεῖς* or *τριάκοντα*. If we adopted the former, which is the less violent, correction, we should obtain c. 822-826 as the date of the arrival of the Magyars in Lebedia.

It must be considered doubtful whether they had come to Lebedia from beyond the Caucasus, where there were Magyars known to the Armenians as the Sevordik. See above, p. 410. Constantine indeed says that they were still known by this name (*Σαβάρτοι ἄσφαλοι*) in Lebedia. It is true that the troubles which distracted Armenia and the adjacent regions in the reign of Mamun (see the account of Yakubi, *apud* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 457 *sqq.*) might have forced a portion of the Sevordik to seek a new habitation under the protection of the Khazars.

We can say with certainty that the Magyars did not arrive in Lebedia at a later period than in Mamun's reign, and there is perhaps a probability that if they had been there long before that period, some indication of their presence would have been preserved in our sources. The conjectural restoration of Constantine's text (thirty-three years) cannot be relied on; but it may be noted that the Bulgarian warfare on the Dnieper in Omurtag's reign (see above, p. 366), if it was provoked by the presence of the Magyars, would be chronologically compatible.

Constantine does not tell us the source of his information about the Magyars and their earlier history. We can, however, form a probable opinion. While he was engaged in writing his treatise known as *De administrando imperio*, or just before he had begun it, an Hungarian embassy arrived at Constantinople (referred to above, p. 489) consisting of Termatzus, a grandson of Arpad, and Bultzus, who held the dignity of karchas (the third dignity in the realm, after the king and the gylas). It seems very likely that Constantine derived much of what he tells us about the Magyars from this friendly embassy. Compare my paper on “The Treatise *De adm. imp.*” *B.Z.* xv. 562-563.

3. *The names Magyar, Hungarian, Turk*

While they were in Lebedia, the Hungarians seem already to have called themselves Magyars, for they were known by this name to an Arabic writer (before A.D. 850), who reproduced it as Bazghar (cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 68).<sup>1</sup> In their own ancient chronicles the name appears as Mogor. It is obviously identical with the name of one of their tribes, the *Μεγέρη*, mentioned by Constantine.<sup>2</sup> We may conjecture that this was the tribe of which Lebedias was chieftain, and that his pre-eminence was the cause of its becoming a name for the nation.

To the Slavs and Latins, the Magyars were known by the more comprehensive name of the Ugrian race, to which they belonged: *Ungri*, whence *Hungari*; and the Greek chronicle, which describes their appearance west of the Dnieper in the reign of Theophilus, likewise calls them *Οὐγγροι* (*Add. George* 818). But this designation in a Greek writer of the ninth and tenth centuries is exceptional, for the Greeks regularly applied to them the term *Τούρκοι*, and even in this passage they are also called *Τούρκοι*<sup>3</sup> and *Οὐννοί*. Why did the Greeks call them Turks? The simplest answer is that the name came into use after the union of the Magyars with the Kabars who were Turks.

Marquart has put forward an ingenious but hardly convincing explanation of *Τούρκοι*. He identifies it with the *Τύρκαι* of Herodotus 4. 22, who seem to appear in Pliny, vi. 19, as *Tyrcae*, and in Pomponius Mela, i. § 116, as *Turcae*. He supposes that *Turkai* is the same word as *Iugra*, Ugrian, with metathesis of *r*, that the word afterwards acquired an initial *t* in Scythian dialects, and that the Greeks borrowed it from the Alans as a designation of the Magyars (*op. cit.* 54 *sqq.*) before their union with the Kabars. According to this theory, the Turks are false "Turks," and the Magyars are true "Turks," according to the original denotation of the name; in fact, the Ugrian name, in its Scythian form, came in the course of history to be transferred from the Ugrian to the Turanian race.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabs used the same name to designate the Bashkirs, and this led to confusions, for which see Marquart, 69 and 515.

<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed that *Μάγαροι* in Const. *De adm. imp.* 164<sub>10</sub> means Magyars; so Hunfalvy, Roesler. The Patzinaks are said to have had as their neighbours, when they dwelled between the Volga and Ural (Γεήχ), *τοὺς τε Μάγαρους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικρατομένους Οὐζ.* The context, however, renders it highly

improbable that these *Μάγαροι* are the same as the *Τούρκοι* (Magyars) who are mentioned a few lines below. Some eastern people is meant—I suspect the Bashkirs, who lived between the Patzinaks and the Bulgarians of the Kama. Probably we should read *Βαζάρους* (an instance of the frequent confusion of *μ* and *β* in eleventh-century MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> But this does not prove that the Greeks called them *Τούρκοι* in the reign of Theophilus (as Marquart argues, p. 54).

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In some cases I have added references to other editions than those from which I cite, for the convenience of readers to whom they may happen to be more accessible.

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#### 4a. RELATING TO CONSTANTINE (CYRIL) AND METHIDIUS

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THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE



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B

# THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

CREIGHTON MEMORIAL LECTURE  
DELIVERED AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON  
12 NOVEMBER 1909

BY

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## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

THE forms of government which are commonly classified as absolute monarchies have not received the same attention or been so carefully analysed as those forms which are known as republics and constitutional monarchies. There is a considerable literature on absolute monarchy considered theoretically, in connexion with the question of Divine Right, but the actual examples which history offers of this kind of government have not been the subject of a detailed comparative study. Montesquieu, for instance, treats them indiscriminately as despotisms. Probably the reason lies in the apparent simplicity of a constitution, by which the supreme power is exclusively vested in one man. When we say that the monarch's will is supreme, we may seem to

say all there is to be said. The Later Roman Empire is an example of absolute monarchy, and I propose to shew that so far as it is concerned there is a good deal more to be said.

The term absolute monarchy is applied in contradistinction to limited or constitutional monarchy. I understand the former to mean that the whole legislative, judicial, and executive powers of the state are vested in the monarch, and there is no other independent and concurrent authority<sup>1</sup>. The latter means that besides the so-called monarch there are other political bodies which possess an independent and effective authority of their own, and share in the sovran power. These terms, absolute and constitutional monarchy, are unsatisfactory, from a logical point of view. For they group together these two forms of government as subdivisions of the class monarchy, implying or suggesting that they have much more real affinity to one another than either has to other constitutions. This is evidently untrue:

a constitutional monarchy is far more closely allied to a republic like France than to an absolute monarchy like Russia. The English constitution, for instance, in which legislation is effected by the consent of three independent organs, the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, might be described more correctly as a triarchy than as a monarchy; and it seems to be unfortunate that monarchy should have come to be used, quite unnecessarily, as a synonym for kingship. "Limited monarchy," as Austin said long ago, "is not monarchy<sup>2</sup>"; monarchy properly so-called is, simply and solely, absolute monarchy. We have however an alternative term, "autocracy," which involves no ambiguities, and might, I venture to think, be advantageously adopted as the technical term for this form of government in constitutional discussions. And "autocracy" has a special advantage over "absolute monarchy." Autocracies are not all alike, in respect to the power actually exercised by the autocrat. Although not limited by any bodies pos-

sessing an independent authority, he may be limited effectually in other ways. Now we can properly speak of more or less limited autocracies, whereas it is an impropriety of language to speak of more or less absolute monarchies, as "absolute" admits of no degrees.

Originally, and during the first three centuries of its existence, the Roman Empire was theoretically a republic. The Senate co-existed with the Emperor, as a body invested with an authority independent of his; but the functions which it exercised by virtue of that authority were surrendered one by one; it became more and more dependent on him; and by the end of the third century the fiction of a second power in the state was dropped altogether, although the Senate was not abolished<sup>3</sup>. From that time forward, under the system established by Diocletian and Constantine, until the fall of the Empire in the fifteenth century, the government was simply and undisguisedly an autocracy.

Now one broad distinction between autocracies may be found in the mode of accession to the throne. The sovranity may be hereditary or it may be elective. If it is elective, the sovranity is derived from the electors who, when the throne is vacant, exercise an independent and sovran authority in electing a new monarch. If it is hereditary, if the right of the autocrat depends entirely and indefeasibly on his birth, then we may say that his sovranity is underived; the succession is automatic, and there is no moment at which any other person or persons than the monarch can perform an act of sovran authority such as is implied in the election of a sovran. This difference may involve, as we shall see, important consequences.

In the case of the Roman Empire, the Imperial dignity continued to be elective, as it had been from the beginning, and the method of election remained the same. When the throne was vacant a new Emperor was chosen by the Senate and the army. The initiative might be taken either by the Senate



or by the army, and both methods were recognised as equally valid. It was of course only a portion of the army that actually chose an Emperor,—for instance, if the choice were made in Constantinople, the guard regiments; but such a portion was regarded as for this purpose representing all the troops which were scattered over the Empire. The appointment did not take the formal shape of what we commonly understand by election. If the soldiers took the initiative, they simply proclaimed the man they wanted. If the choice was made by the Senate, the procedure might be more deliberate, but there seems to have been no formal casting of votes, and the essential act was the proclamation<sup>4</sup>. It sufficed that one of these bodies should proclaim an Emperor to establish his title to the sovereignty; it only remained for the other body to concur; and the inauguration was formally completed when the people of Constantinople had also acclaimed him in the Hippodrome—a formality always observed and reminiscent

of the fact that the inhabitants of the new capital of Constantine had succeeded to the position of the old *populus Romanus*<sup>5</sup>.

The part which the Senate played in the appointment of an Emperor, whether by choosing him or by ratifying the choice of the army, is constitutionally important. The Senate or *Synklétos* of New Rome was a very different body from the old *Senatus Romanus*. It was a small council consisting of persons who belonged to it by virtue of administrative offices to which they were appointed by the Emperor. In fact, the old Senate had coalesced with the Consistorium or Imperial council, and in consequence the new Senate had a double aspect. So long as there was a reigning Emperor, it acted as consistorium or advisory council of the sovereign, but when there was an interval between two reigns, it resumed the independent authority which had lain in abeyance and performed functions which it had inherited from the early Senate.

But it was not only when the throne was vacant that it could perform such functions.

The right of election might be exercised by the Senate and the army at any time. It was a principle of state-law in the Early Empire that the people which made the Emperor could also unmake him, and this principle continued in force under the autocracy. There was no formal process of deposing a sovrän, but the members of the community had the means of dethroning him, if his government failed to give satisfaction, by proclaiming a new Emperor; and if anyone so proclaimed obtained sufficient support from the army, Senate, and people, the old Emperor was compelled to vacate the throne, retiring into a monastery, losing his eyesight, or suffering death, according to the circumstances of the situation or the temper of his supplanter; while the new Emperor was regarded as the legitimate monarch from the day on which he was proclaimed; the proclamation was taken as the legal expression of the general will. If he had not a sufficient following to render the proclamation effective and was 'sup-

pressed, he was treated as a rebel; but during the struggle and before the catastrophe, the fact that a portion of the army had proclaimed him gave him a presumptive constitutional status, which the event might either confirm or annul. The method of deposition was in fact revolution, and we are accustomed to regard revolution as something essentially unconstitutional, an appeal from law to force; but under the Imperial system, it was not unconstitutional; the government was, to use an expression of Mommsen, "an autocracy tempered by the legal right of revolution."

Thus the sovereignty of the Roman autocrat was delegated to him by the community, as represented by the Senate, and the army, and, we may add, the people of Constantinople<sup>6</sup>. The symbol of the sovereignty thus delegated was the diadem, which was definitely introduced by Constantine. The Emperor wore other insignia, such as the purple robe and the red boots, but the diadem was pre-eminently the symbol and expression of the

autocracy. The dress only represented the Emperor or commander-in-chief of the army, and no formalities were connected with its assumption. It was otherwise with the crown, which in the Persian Kingdom, from which it was borrowed, was placed on the king's head by the High-priest of the Magian religion. In theory, the Imperial crown should be imposed by a representative of those who conferred the sovran authority which it symbolized. And in the fourth century we find the Prefect, Sallustius Secundus, crowning Valentinian I, in whose election he had taken the most prominent part. But the Emperors seem to have felt some hesitation in thus receiving the diadem from the hands of a subject; and the selection of one magnate for this high office of conferring the symbol of sovranity was likely to cause enmity and jealousy. Yet a formality was considered necessary. In the fifth century, the difficulty was overcome in a clever and tactful way. The duty of coronation was assigned to the Patriarch of Con-

stantinople. In discharging this office, the Patriarch was not envied by the secular magnates because he could not be their rival, and his ecclesiastical position relieved the Emperor from all embarrassment in receiving the diadem from a subject. There is some evidence, though it is not above suspicion, that this plan was adopted at the coronation of Marcian in A.D. 450, but it seems certain that his successor Leo was crowned by the Patriarch in A.D. 457. Henceforward this was the regular practice. In the thirteenth century we find Theodore II postponing his coronation until the Patriarchal throne, which happened to be vacant, was filled. But although it was the regular and desirable form of coronation, it was never regarded as indispensable for the autocrat's legitimate inauguration. The last of the East Roman Emperors, Constantine Palaeologus, was not crowned by the Patriarch; he was crowned by a layman<sup>7</sup>. This fact that coronation by the Patriarch was not constitutionally necessary, though it was the usual custom, is

significant. For it shows that the Patriarch, in performing the ceremony, was not representing the Church. It is possible that the idea of committing the office to him was suggested by the Persian coronations which were performed by the High-priest, but the significance was not the same. The chief of the Magians acted as the representative of the Persian religion, the Patriarch acted as the representative of the State<sup>8</sup>. For if he had specially represented the Church, it is clear that his co-operation could never have been dispensed with. In other words, no new constitutional theory or constitutional requirement was introduced by the assignment of the privilege of crowning Emperors to the Patriarch. It did not mean that the consent of the Church was formally necessary to the inauguration of the sovran.

I will make this point still more evident presently in connexion with another important feature of the constitution to which we now come. If you look down the roll of Emperors, you will find that only a minority

of them were actually elected in the ways I have described. In most cases, when an Emperor died, the throne was not vacant, for generally he had a younger colleague, who had already been invested with the Imperial dignity, so that no new election was necessary. This practice<sup>9</sup> by which a reigning Emperor could appoint his successor modified the elective principle. The Emperor used to devolve the succession upon his son, if he had one; so that son constantly succeeded father, and the history of the Roman Empire is marked by a series of hereditary dynasties. The constitution thus combined the elective and the hereditary principles; a device was found for securing the advantages of hereditary succession, and obviating its disadvantages by preserving the principle of election. The chief advantage of hereditary monarchy is that it avoids the danger of domestic troubles and civil war which are likely to occur when the throne is elective, and there are two rival candidates. Its chief disadvantage is that the supreme power in



the State will inevitably devolve sometimes upon a weak and incapable ruler. The result of the mixture of the two principles, the dynastic and the elective, was that there were far fewer incapable sovereigns than if the dynastic succession had been exclusively valid, and fewer struggles for power than if every change of ruler had meant an election. It would be interesting to trace, if we had the material, how the inhabitants of the Empire became more and more attached to the idea of legitimacy—the idea that the children of an Emperor had a constitutional right to the supreme power. We can see at least that this feeling grew very strong under the long rule of the Macedonian dynasty; it is illustrated by the political *rôle* which the Empress Zoe, an utterly incompetent and depraved old woman, was allowed to play because she was the daughter of Constantine VIII. But the fact remained that although a father invariably raised his eldest son, and sometimes younger sons too, to the rank of Augustus, the son became Emperor

by virtue of his father's will and not by virtue of his birth. The Emperor was not in any way bound to devolve the succession upon his son<sup>10</sup>. Now what I ask you to observe is that when a reigning sovran created a second Emperor, whether his son or anyone else, there was no election. The Senate, the army, and the people expressed their joy and satisfaction, in the ceremonies which attended the creation, but the creation was entirely the act of the Emperor. The constitutional significance is evident. The autocratic powers conferred upon an Emperor by his election included the right of devolving the Imperial dignity upon others. It was part of his sovranity to be able to create a colleague who was potentially another sovran.

This difference between the appointment of an Emperor when the throne is vacant and the appointment of an Emperor as colleague when the throne is occupied is clearly and significantly expressed by the difference between the coronation acts in the two cases. In the former case the act is performed by

a representative of the electors, almost always the Patriarch; in the latter case it is regularly performed by the reigning Emperor. It is he who, possessing the undivided sovereignty, confers the Imperial dignity and therefore with his own hands delivers its symbol. Sometimes indeed he commits the office of coronation to the Patriarch, but the Patriarch is then acting simply as his delegate<sup>11</sup>. This difference is a confirmation of the view that the Patriarch, in discharging the duty of coronation, acts as a representative of the electors, and not of the Church. For if the coronation had been conceived as a religious act, it must have been performed in the same way, in all cases, by the chief minister of the Church.

But now you may ask, is the term autocracy or the term monarchy strictly applicable to the Empire? Monarchy and autocracy mean the sovereign rule of one man alone, but, as we have just seen, the Emperor generally had a colleague. Both in the early and in the later Empire, there were constantly two

Emperors, sometimes more. In the tenth century, for instance, in the reign of Romanus I, there were as many as five—each of them an Augustus, each a Basileus<sup>12</sup>. This practice is derived from the original collegial character of the proconsular Imperium and the tribunician power, on which Augustus based his authority. But, although the Roman Imperium or Basileia was collegial, the sovereignty was not divided. When there were two Emperors only one exercised the sovereign power and governed the State; his colleague was subordinate, and simply enjoyed the dignity and the expectation of succession. Though his name appeared in legislative acts and his effigy on coins, and though he shared in all the Imperial honours, he was a sleeping partner. With one exception, which I will notice presently, the only cases of Imperial colleagues exercising concurrent sovereignty were in the period from Diocletian to the death of Julius Nepos, when the Empire was territorially divided. Diocletian and Maximian, for instance, the sons of Constan-

tine, Arcadius and Honorius, were severally monarchs in their own dominions. But except in the case of territorial division, the supreme power was exercised by one man, and monarchy is therefore a right description of the constitution. In the reign of Constantine IV, the soldiers demanded that the Emperor should crown his two brothers. "We believe in the Trinity," they cried, "and we would have three Emperors." But this must not be interpreted as a demand that each member of the desired Imperial trinity should exercise sovran authority. Such a joint sovranity was never tried except in one case, and a clear distinction was drawn between the Basileus who governed and the Basileus who did not govern. The exceptional case was the peculiar one of two Empresses, who ruled conjointly for a short time in the eleventh century. I will mention this case again, in a few minutes, when I come to speak of the position of Empresses.

And here I must dwell for a moment on the name *Basileus* and another Greek name

*Autokrator*, which were employed to designate the Emperor. In the early Empire, *Basileus* was used in the East and especially in Egypt, where Augustus was regarded as the successor of the Ptolemies, but it was not used officially by the Emperors; it was not the Greek for Imperator. The Greek word adopted to translate Imperator was *Autokrator*, and this is the term always used in Imperial Greek inscriptions. By the fourth century *Basileus* had come into universal use in the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire; it was the regular term used by Greek writers; but it was not yet accepted as an official title. Nor was it adopted officially till the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius. It has been pointed out by Bréhier<sup>13</sup> that the earliest official act in which an Emperor entitles himself *Basileus* is a law of Heraclius of the year 629. In the earlier diplomas of his reign he uses the old traditional form *Autokrator*. Bréhier, however, has failed to see the reason of this change of style, but the significant date A.D. 629 sup-

plies the explanation. In that year Heraclius completed the conquest of Persia. Now, the Persian king was the only foreign monarch to whom the Roman Emperors conceded the title Basileus; except the Abyssinian king, who hardly counted. So long as there was a great independent Basileus outside the Roman Empire, the Emperors refrained from adopting a title which would be shared by another monarch. But as soon as that monarch was reduced to the condition of a dependent vassal and there was no longer a concurrence, the Emperor signified the event by assuming officially the title which had for several centuries been applied to him unofficially. The Empire was extremely conservative in forms and usages; changes were slow in official documents, they were slower still in the coinage. It is not till more than a century later that Basileus begins to be adopted by the mint. By this change Basileus became the official equivalent of Imperator; it took the place of Autokrator; and it was now possible for Autokrator to come into its

own and express its full etymological significance. Thus we find a strongly marked tendency in later times to apply the term specially to the Basileus who was the actual ruler. Though he and his colleague might be acclaimed jointly as Autokrators; yet Autokrator is distinctly used to express the plenitude of despotic power which was exercised by the senior Emperor alone<sup>14</sup>. Thus we may say that in early times Basileus was the pregnant title which expressed that full monarchical authority which the system of Augustus aimed at disguising, and Autokrator was simply the equivalent of the republican title Imperator; while in later times the rôles of the two titles were reversed, and Autokrator became the pregnant title, expressing the fulness of authority which the familiar Basileus no longer emphasized.

Before we leave this part of our subject, a word must be said about the rights of women to exercise autocracy. From the foundation of the Empire the title of Augusta had been



conferred on the wives of Emperors, and we find in early times the mothers of minors, like Agrippina and Julia Domna, exercising political power. But this power was always exercised in the name of their sons. At the beginning of the fifth century the Augusta Pulcheria presides over the government which acted for her brother Theodosius II while he was a minor. On his death without children, it is recognised that although she cannot govern alone, she nevertheless has a right to have a voice in the election of a new Emperor, and the situation is met by her nominal marriage with Marcian. Similarly, forty years later, when Zeno dies without a son, his wife, the Augusta Ariadne, has, by general consent, the decisive voice in selecting her husband's successor; her choice falls on Anastasius, and he is elected. But it is not she who confers the Imperial authority on Anastasius, it is the Senate and army, who elect him, in accordance with her wishes. In the following century, the political importance of Empresses is augmented by the exceptional

positions occupied by Theodora the consort of Justinian, and Sophia the consort of Justin II. But so far although an Empress may act as regent for a minor<sup>15</sup>, may intervene in an Imperial election, may receive honours suggesting that she is her husband's colleague rather than consort, she never exercises independent sovran power, she is never, in the later sense of the word, an Autokrator. Passing on to the close of the eighth century, we come to the Empress Irene, the Athenian lady who is famous as the first restorer of Image-worship. When her husband died, her son Constantine was too young to rule, and she governed in the same way as Pulcheria had governed for Theodosius. When Constantine was old enough to govern himself, Irene was unwilling to retire into the background, and although the son succeeded in holding the power in his own hands for some years, the mother was continually intriguing against him. The struggle ended in her triumph. She caused her son to be blinded, and for five years she reigned alone

with full sovran powers as Autokrator. This was a considerable constitutional innovation, and the official style of her diplomas illustrates, in an interesting way, that it was felt as such. She was, of course, always spoken of as the Empress, but in her official acts she is styled not "Irene the Empress" but "Irene the Emperor" (*Basileus*)<sup>16</sup>. It was felt that only an Emperor could legislate, and so the legal fiction of her masculinity was adopted.

It was said in Western Europe, for the purpose of justifying the Imperial claim of Charles the Great, that the sovranity of the Empire could not devolve on a woman, and that Irene's tenure of power was really an interregnum; but the Byzantines never admitted this constitutional doctrine. Nevertheless they had a strong objection to the *régime* of women, except in the capacity of regents, and the precedent established by Irene was repeated only in the case of Zoe and Theodora, the two nieces of Basil II. We find each of these ladies exercising the sovran authority alone for brief periods, and

we also find them ruling together. This is the instance, which I mentioned already, of the experiment of government by two autocrats. Their joint rule might have been protracted, if they had been in harmony, but Zoe was extremely jealous of Theodora, and in order to oust her she took a husband, who immediately assumed the autocratic authority, and Zoe fell back into the subordinate position of a consort.

We may now pass to the consideration of the nature and amplitude of the Imperial supremacy. The act of proclamation conferred his sovran powers upon the Emperor. In early days the Imperial powers were defined explicitly by a law, the *lex de imperio*. We have the text of the law which was passed for Vespasian. But the practice of passing it anew on the accession of a new Emperor was discontinued, and under the autocracy, when all the legislative, judicial and executive powers were vested in the autocrat, there was no reason to define what those powers were. In the sixth century however, in the

legislation of Justinian, it is recognised that by the *lex de imperio* the people transferred its sovereignty to the Emperor. In the eighth century we may be pretty sure that no one from the Emperor downwards had ever heard of the *lex de imperio*<sup>17</sup>. But although there was no constitution of this kind defining or limiting the monarch's functions, I will proceed to shew that his power, legally unlimited, was subject to limitations which must be described as constitutional.

For his legislative and administrative acts, the monarch was responsible to none, except to Heaven; there was no organ in the state that had a right to control him; so that his government answers to our definition of autocracy. But when the monarch is appointed by any body or bodies in the state, the electors can impose conditions on him at the time of election, and thus there is the possibility of limiting his power. In other words, an elective autocracy, like the Roman Empire, is liable to the imposition of limitations. The case of the Emperor Anastasius I is in

point. The Senate required from him an oath that he would administer the Empire conscientiously and not visit offences upon anyone with whom he had had a quarrel. This exhibits the principle, which was constantly and chiefly applied for the purpose of preventing a new Emperor from making ecclesiastical innovations.

It was a recognised condition of eligibility to the throne that the candidate should be a Christian, and an orthodox Christian. The latest pagan Emperor was Julian. After him it would have been virtually impossible for a pagan to rule at Constantinople. After the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, which crushed the Arian heresies, it would have been impossible for an Arian to wear the diadem. This was expressly recognised in the situation which ensued on the death of Theodosius II. The most prominent man at the moment was Aspar, but he was an Arian, and on that account alone his elevation was considered out of the question. Up to that period it may be said that such conditions of

faith were political rather than constitutional; but when the coronation ceremony was attended with religious forms, we may say that Christianity was coming to be considered a constitutional condition of eligibility. By religious forms, I do not mean the part which the Patriarch played in the act of coronation, which, as we have seen, had no ecclesiastical significance, but other parts of the ceremony, such as prayers, which were introduced in the fifth century. It was at the accession of Anastasius I that a religious declaration was first required from an Emperor. Anastasius was with good reason suspected of heterodoxy; he was in fact a monophysite. He was not asked to make any personal confession of faith, but at the Patriarch's demand, he signed a written oath that he would maintain the existing ecclesiastical settlement unimpaired and introduce no novelty in the Church. We are ignorant whether such a written declaration was formally required at all subsequent elections; probably not; but it was, we know, imposed

in a number of cases where there was reason to suspect a new Emperor of heretical tendencies. Ultimately, we cannot say at what time, this practice crystallised into the shape of a regular coronation oath, in which the monarch confesses and confirms the decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and of the local synods, and the privileges of the Church, and vows to be a mild ruler and to abstain as far as possible from punishments of death and mutilation<sup>18</sup>.

The fact that such capitulations could be and were imposed at the time of election, even though the Emperor's obligation to submit to them was moral rather than legal, means that the autocracy was subject to limitations and was limited. But apart from such definite capitulations, the monarch's power was restricted by unwritten principles of government which bound him as much as the unwritten part of the English constitution binds our king and government. The autocrat was the supreme legislator; personally he was above the laws, *solutus legibus*<sup>19</sup>; there



was no tribunal before which he could be summoned; but he was bound by the principles and the forms of the law which was the great glory of Roman civilisation<sup>20</sup>. He could modify laws, he could make new laws; but no Emperor ever questioned the obligation of conforming his acts to the law or presumed to assert that he could set it aside. Although theoretically above the law, he was at the same time bound by it, *alligatus legibus*, as Theodosius II expressly acknowledges<sup>21</sup>. Basil I, in a legal handbook, explicitly affirms the obligation of the Emperor to maintain not only the Scriptures and the canons of the Seven Councils, but also the Roman laws. And the laws embraced the institutions. Though changing circumstances led to adaptations and alterations, the Byzantine conservatism, which is almost proverbial and is often exaggerated, attests the strength of the unwritten limitations which always restrained the Imperial autocracy.

The Senate, too, though it had no share

in the sovran's actions. For there were various political matters which the Emperor was bound by custom to lay before it. We have not the material for enumerating what those matters were, but among the most important were questions of peace and war and the conclusion of treaties. The Senate would obediently concur in the views of a strong sovran, and probably its meetings were generally of a purely formal nature, but it is significant that in the case of a weak Emperor (Michael I) we find the Senate opposing the autocrat's wishes and the autocrat bowing to their opinion<sup>22</sup>.

It is implied in what I have said that the Church represented a limit on the Emperor's power. From the ninth century onward, the Decrees of the Seven Councils were an unalterable law which no Emperor could touch<sup>23</sup>. At the same time, the relation of the state to the Church, of which I must now speak, illustrates the amplitude of his power. The Byzantine Church is the most important

example in history of a State-Church. Its head was the Emperor. He was considered the delegate of God in a sphere which included the ecclesiastical as well as the secular order. The Patriarch of Constantinople was his minister of the department of religion, and though the usual forms of episcopal election were observed, was virtually appointed by him. It was the Emperor who convoked the Ecumenical Councils, and it was the Emperor who presided at them either in person or, if he did not care to suffer the boredom of theological debates, represented by some of his secular ministers<sup>24</sup>. Canonical decrees passed at councils did not become obligatory till they were confirmed by the Emperor; and the Emperors issued edicts and laws relating to purely ecclesiastical affairs, quite independently of Councils. The Patriarch Menas asserted in the reign of Justinian that nothing should be done in the Church contrary to the Emperor's will, and Justinian, who was the incarnation of sacerdotal monarchy, was

acclaimed as High-Priest Basileus (ἀρχιερεὺς βασιλεύς). It is true that the voices of prominent ecclesiastics were raised from time to time protesting that ecclesiastical matters lay outside the domain of secular authority and advocating the complete freedom of the Church. But this idea, of which Theodore of Studion was the latest champion, never gained ground; it was definitely defeated in the ninth century, and the Emperor continued to hold the position of a Christian caliph. Thus the theory of State and Church in the Eastern Empire is conspicuously contrasted with the theory which in Western Europe was realised under Innocent III. In both cases Church and State are indivisible, but in the West the Church is the State, whereas in the East it is a department which the Emperor directs. In the West we have a theocracy; the Church represented by the Pope claims to possess the supreme authority in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. In the East relations are reversed; instead of a theocracy, we have what has been called

caesaropapism. A papalist writer, who endeavours to demonstrate the Pope's universal supremacy, remarks that in point of jurisdiction a layman might be Pope; all the powers and rights of a Pope, in spiritual as well as secular affairs, would be conferred upon him by election<sup>25</sup>. This hypothesis of Agostino Trionfo was realised in the Eastern Empire.

There were occasional struggles between the Emperor and the Patriarch, usually caused by an attempt on the Emperor's part to introduce, for political reasons, some new doctrine which the Patriarch considered inconsistent with the Decrees of the Councils or the Scriptures. In such cases the Patriarch was defending the constitution against innovation; he was not disputing the Emperor's position as head of the Church. And in such cases the usual result was that the Patriarch either yielded or was deposed, the Emperor had his way, and the orthodox doctrine was not reinstated until another Emperor reversed the acts of his predecessor. Some

Patriarchs might suggest that the Emperor, not being an expert in theology, ought not to interfere in matters of doctrine; but the normal relations were generally accepted as fundamental and constitutional.

The Patriarch had indeed one weapon which he might use against his sovran—the weapon of excommunication. He might refuse, and direct his clergy to refuse, to communicate with the Emperor. It was a weapon to which recourse was seldom taken. Another means of exerting power which the Patriarch possessed was due to the part which he took in the coronation. He might make terms with the new Emperor before he crowned him. Thus the Patriarch Polyeuktos forced John Tzimiskes to consent to abrogate a law which required the Imperial approbation of candidates for ecclesiastical offices before they were elected.

The constitutional theory which I have delineated is implied in the actual usages from which I have drawn it; but it was never formulated. Constitutional questions did not

arise, and no lawyer or historian expounded the basis or the limits of the sovran power. In fact, the constitution was not differentiated in men's consciousness from the whole body of laws and institutions. They did not analyse the assumptions implied in their practice, and the only idea they entertained, which can be described as a constitutional theory, does not agree, though it may be conciliated, with the theory that I have sketched. If you had asked a Byzantine Emperor what was the basis of his autocracy and by what right he exercised it, he would not have told you that it had been committed to him by the Senate, the army, or the people; he would have said that he derived his sovranity directly from God. I could produce a great deal of evidence to illustrate this view, but it will be enough to refer to the words of the Emperor Basil I in his Advice to his son Leo: "You received the Empire from God"; "You received the crown from God by my hand<sup>26</sup>." Such a doctrine of the monarch's divine right

naturally tended to reflect a new significance on the part which the Patriarch played in the Emperor's inauguration. But it found an explicit symbolic expression in the new custom of unction, which perhaps was practised (though opinions differ on this point)<sup>27</sup> as early as the ninth century. In crowning, the Patriarch expressed the will of the state; in anointing, the will of the Deity. This theory, logically developed, implies the view which Dante expresses in his *De Monarchia*, that the Electors when they choose the Emperor are merely voicing the choice of the Deity. It was quite in accordance with the prevailing religious sentiments; it enhanced the Emperor's authority by representing that authority as a divine gift, and perhaps it sometimes enhanced his sense of responsibility. But although calculated to place the sovrän above criticism, this theory of divine right did not affect the actual working of the constitutional tradition which determined the appointment of Emperors and the limitations of their power.



Its chief interest lies in its relation to the political theories which were evolved in the Middle Ages in Western Europe. It has been observed by Mr Bryce<sup>28</sup>, as a striking contrast between the Eastern and Western Empires, that, while the West was fertile in conceptions and theories, displaying abundant wealth of creative imagination, in the East men did not trouble themselves to theorize about the Empire at all. The inspiration, in the West, came in the first place from the fact that the Holy Roman Empire was always an ideal, never fully realised, "a dream" (to use Mr Bryce's words), "half theology and half poetry." The Eastern Roman Empire, on the other hand, was always an actual fact, adequate to its own conception; there it was,—there was no mistake about its being here and now; there was much in it to cause pride, there was nothing to stir imagination. In the second place, there was no need, in the Eastern Empire, to evolve theories, as nothing was in dispute. In the West a great constitutional question arose, of far-reaching

practical importance, touching the relations of the two rival authorities, the Pope and the Emperor. It was to solve the political problem set by their rival pretensions that Dante wrote his *De Monarchia*, William of Ockham his *Dialogue*, Marsilius of Padua his *Defensor pacis*. In the East no such problem arose, inasmuch as the Emperor was recognised as the head of the Church, and there was therefore no stimulus to evolve political theories. Yet if a similar problem or need had arisen, I cannot help thinking that the medieval Greeks, though they were incapable of producing a Dante, would have proved themselves not less ingenious than Western thinkers in political speculation. But it is instructive to observe that the claim of the Eastern Emperor to derive his sovereignty directly from God is the same theory of Divine Right which was asserted by the Western Imperialist writers. Dante affirmed this theory most forcibly; William of Ockham and Marsilius affirmed it too, but they tempered it by the view that the Empire

was originally derived from the people, thus combining, as it were, the Divine pretensions of the later autocrats of Constantinople with the democratic origin of sovranity which is asserted in the lawbooks of Justinian.

I have endeavoured to shew how the autocracy of the later Roman Empire was a limited autocracy. Every autocracy, every government, has of course natural limitations. The action of the monarch is limited by public opinion; there will always be some point beyond which he is afraid to venture in defying public opinion. It is also limited by the fact that he has to employ human instruments, and their personal views and qualities may modify or compromise or thwart the execution of his will. Further, if he rules over a highly organized society, he may be restrained from sweeping measures by the knowledge that such changes will involve other consequences which he does not desire<sup>29</sup>. These natural limitations affect all autocracies, all governments, in various modes and degrees. But apart from them, the

Roman autocracy had definite restrictions which must be described as constitutional<sup>30</sup>. In what is miscalled a limited monarchy, the king may have legal rights which it would be unconstitutional to exercise. The action of the English crown, for instance, is restricted not merely by the statutory limits, such as are imposed on it by the Bill of Rights or the Act of Settlement, but by unwritten constitutional usage, which is obligatory. In the same way the action of the Roman autocrat was limited by a tradition and usage which were felt by him and by the community to be absolutely binding. The sanctions in the two cases are different. An English king is hindered from exceeding the constitutional bounds of his authority by the power which Parliament possesses of bringing the government to a standstill, as it can do by refusing to grant supplies or to pass the Mutiny Act. The more powerful Roman monarch was forced to conform to the institutions, customs, and traditions of his society by the more drastic sanction of deposition. The Russian

autocrat, Peter the Great, abolished the Patriarchate of Moscow; it would have been an impossibility for the Roman Emperor to abolish the Patriarchate of Constantinople or to introduce any serious change in the organization of the Church. The integrity of the Church was indeed secured against him not merely by this moral force, but by capitulations which, in consequence of the elective character of the monarchy, he could be obliged to swear to at his accession and which were finally embodied in a coronation oath. Here there was a religious sanction superadded.

The limitations tended to maintain the conservative character for which Byzantium is often reproached, and were in fact one of the results of that conservatism. They were efficacious, because the autocrat himself was usually imbued deeply with this conservative spirit, being a child of his age and civilisation; whilst the complex and elaborate machinery, furnishing the channels through which he had to act, was a powerful check on

his freedom. It must, I think, be admitted that the autocracy of the Eastern Empire suited the given conditions, and probably worked better than any other system that could have been devised. The government was not arbitrary, and the evils from which the subjects of the Empire suffered were due (apart from the calamities of war) to economic ignorance and bad finance, such as prevailed everywhere alike in the ancient and the middle ages, and would have pressed as heavily under any other form of government. The freedom and absence of formality in the method of appointing the sovran made it possible to meet different situations in different ways; and if we examine the roll of Emperors from Constantine the Great in the fourth to Manuel Comnenus in the twelfth century, we must admit that the constitution secured, with a few dark but short intervals, a succession of able and hard-working rulers such as cannot, I think, be paralleled in the annals of any other state during so long a period.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This differs somewhat from Sidgwick's definition, in *Development of European Polity*, p. 10: "What is meant by calling him [an Absolute Monarch] 'absolute' is that there is no established constitutional authority—no human authority that his subjects habitually obey as much as they obey him—which can legitimately resist him or call him to account."

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, i. 241 (ed. 1885).

<sup>3</sup> The *Roman* Senate however seems to have retained some nominal sovereignty; for under the *régime* of Theodoric it had the power, like the Emperor, *constituere leges* (a power which Theodoric did not possess). Cp. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 6, 4, § 1, 2 (p. 177, ed. Mommsen).

<sup>4</sup> This (*ἀναγόρευσις*) is the technical word applied to the whole procedure of inauguration.

<sup>5</sup> In the early Empire, the Roman people took the initiative in proclaiming Pertinax; they forced the Praetorians to proclaim him; but undoubtedly it was the proclamation of the latter that conferred the Imperium. In the later Empire we find a section of the people of Constantinople taking the initiative in proclaiming the nephews of Anastasius, on the occasion of the Nika revolt against Justinian.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. for instance Leo Diaconus, ii. 12, where Polyeuktos says that the sons of Romanus II were proclaimed Emperors "by us (the Senate) and the whole people."

<sup>7</sup> Nicephorus Bryennios, who was proclaimed Emperor in the reign of Michael VII (11th cent.) and was suppressed, placed the diadem on his own head, Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* i. 4.



<sup>8</sup> This is brought out by W. Sickel in his important article *Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10 Jahrhundert*, in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. 511 sqq. (1898), to which I must acknowledge my obligations. For the details of the coronation ceremonies see F. E. Brightman's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, ii. 359 sqq. (1901).

<sup>9</sup> It was introduced by the Augustus in the form of the co-regency, for a full discussion of which see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1145 sqq. (ed. 3).

In the Hellenistic kingdoms (Macedonia, Syria, Egypt) there is material for instructive comparisons in regard to the combination of the elective and dynastic principles, and co-regencies.

<sup>10</sup> This principle was asserted by Andronicus II who endeavoured to exclude his grandson (Andronicus III) from the throne. The civil wars which resulted represent, from the constitutional point of view, a struggle between this principle and the idea of legitimacy to which the Byzantines had become strongly attached.

<sup>11</sup> The regular form of phrase is ἔστυψε διὰ τοῦ Πατριάρχου (cp. Theophanes, 417<sub>25</sub>, 426<sub>27</sub>, 480<sub>11</sub>, 494<sub>26</sub>). More explicitly Kedrenos ii. 296; Romanus I was crowned by the Patriarch ἐπιτροπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου (who was a minor). In the normal ceremony of crowning a colleague, described in Constantine Porph., *De Cer.*, i. 38, the Patriarch hands the crown to the Emperor, who places it on the new Emperor's head (p. 194).

<sup>12</sup> The colleague is often designated as ὁ δεύτερος βασιλεύς, or as συμβασιλεύς (and we may suppose that the description of Otto II as *co-imperator* of his father was borrowed from this); if a child, he is distinguished as "the little Emperor" (ὁ μικρὸς βασιλεύς), and this, no doubt,

explains why Theodosius II was ὁ μικρός. The description, applied to him when a minor, survived his boyhood, because it served to distinguish him from his grandfather and namesake, Theodosius the Great. In one case, we find the term *rex* strangely applied to a second Emperor. It occurs on a bronze coin of the year 866-7, in which Basil I was colleague of Michael III. The obverse has *Mihael imperat(or)*, the reverse *Basilius rex* (Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins of the British Museum*, ii. 432). I do not know how to explain this eccentricity which is contrary to all the principles of the Roman Imperium. The western title *Romanorum rex*, which in the 11th century began to be assumed by western Emperors before they were crowned at Rome and was afterwards appropriated to their successors, cannot be compared.

<sup>13</sup> *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xv. 151 sqq. (1906).

<sup>14</sup> It came into official use in the eleventh century, as a reinforcement of Basileus (β. καὶ αὐτ.), and in Latin diplomas we find it translated by *moderator*, Basileus by *Imperator*. A colleague could only use the title *Autokrator* by special permission of the senior Emperor (Codinus, *De Officiis*, c. 17, pp. 86, 87, ed. Bonn). But the distinction was drawn as early as the ninth century, for in Philotheos (A.D. 900), *Kletorologion* (*apud* Const. Porph. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 712), we find ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεὺς explicitly contrasted with ὁ δεύτερος βασιλεὺς.

<sup>15</sup> If an Emperor foresaw his approaching death and his colleague was a minor, he could make arrangements for the regency in his will. This was done, e.g., by Theophilus and by Alexander.

<sup>16</sup> Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-romanum*, iii. 55 (Εἰρήνη πιστὸς βασιλεὺς). The point is brought out in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (p. 466, l. 25, ed. De Boor): Con-

stantine VI causes the Armeniac soldiers to swear not to accept his mother Irene εἰς βασιλέα. The later force of the term αὐτοκράτωρ comes out in the same passage (l. 15).

<sup>17</sup> In this connexion, however, may be noted the remarkable notion of establishing a democracy, attributed to the Emperor Stauracius (A.D. 811) by the contemporary chronicler Theophanes (ed. De Boor, p. 492). He was on his deathbed at the time and wished to be succeeded by his wife, the Athenian Theophano (a relative of Irene) as sovran Empress. He threatened democracy as an alternative. We should like to know what his idea of a democracy was.

<sup>18</sup> Codinus, *De Officiis*, c. 17.

<sup>19</sup> *Digest*. i. 3. 31; *Basilica*, ii. 6. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Basilica*, ii. 6. 9, καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως οἱ γενικοὶ κρατεῖ-  
 τωσαν νόμοι καὶ πᾶσα παράνομος ἐκβαλλέσθω ἀντιγραφῇ. The meaning of *lex generalis* (briefly, an edict promulgated as applicable to the whole Empire) is explained *ib.* 8, which is based on *Cod. Just.* i. 14. 3. The Emperor could not enact a special constitution,—applicable to a section, district, or town,—which was contrary to the provisions of a *lex generalis*.

<sup>21</sup> *Cod. Just.* i. 14. 4, digna vox maiestate regnantis legibus alligatum se principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate iuris nostra pendet auctoritas.

<sup>22</sup> The functions of the Senate seem to have closely resembled those of the Synedrion in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Compare the account of a meeting of the Synedrion of Antiochus in Polybius, v. 41–42. It may be noticed that during the minority after the death of Romanus II, it is the Senate that appoints Nicephorus II to the supreme command of the Asiatic troops (Leo Diaconus, ii. 12). The

importance of the Senate is illustrated by the political measure of Constantine X who "democratized" it: see Psellos, *Historia*, p. 238 (ed. Sathas, 1899); C. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen*, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> This principle had been already laid down by Justinian in regard to the first four Councils, the decrees of which he places on the same level as Holy Scripture: *Nov.* 151, a', ed. Zachariä, ii. p. 267.

<sup>24</sup> The best general account of the relation of State and Church in Byzantium will be found in the late Professor Gelzer's article in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, N. F. vol. 50, 193 sqq. (1901). At the Seventh Ecumenical Council (A.D. 787) the presidency was committed to the Patriarch Tarasios, evidently because he had been a layman and minister, not (like most of his predecessors) a monk.

<sup>25</sup> Augustinus Triumphus, *Summa de potestate Ecclesiastica*, I. 1, p. 2, ed. 1584 (Rome): si quis eligatur in Papam nullum ordinem habens, erit verus Papa et habebit omnem potestatem iurisdictionis in spiritualibus et temporalibus et tamen nullam habebit potestatem ordinis.

<sup>26</sup> *Paraenesis ad Leonem*, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cvii. pp. xxv, xxxii.

<sup>27</sup> See Photius, in Migne, *P. G.* cii. 765 and 573. Cp. Sickel, *op. cit.* 547-8, and on the other hand Brightman, *op. cit.* 383-5.

<sup>28</sup> *The Holy Roman Empire* (last ed. 1904), 343 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> This is noted by Sidgwick, *Development of European Polity*, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of the conception of *unconstitutional* as distinguished from *illegal* see Austin, *op. cit.* 265 sqq.

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## MUTASIM'S MARCH THROUGH CAPPADOCIA IN A.D. 838.

IN the warfare between the Eastern Empire and the Caliphate in the ninth century, one of the most famous passages is the expedition of Mutasim, which was signalised by the siege and capture of Amorion, in A.D. 838. The best, in fact the only full, narrative of the campaign is preserved in the Chronicle of Tabari (A. H. 223).<sup>1</sup> His account of the opening operations of the invading armies is beset with certain geographical difficulties which I propose to consider in this paper, with the help of material supplied in the writings of Professor Ramsay, and in the hope that he may be able to throw further light on the subject.

The Caliph<sup>2</sup> invaded Asia Minor with three armies. His objective was in the first instance Ancyra. His general, Afshin, in command of what we may call the Eastern army, crossed the Taurus by the pass of Hadath (Adata),<sup>3</sup> and presumably his route was by Arabissos, Tzamandos, and Sebastea.<sup>4</sup> The two divisions of the Western army, under the Caliph himself and Ashnas, started from Cilicia and crossed by the Cilician gates. The plan was that the armies should meet in the neighbourhood of Ancyra, and as the Saracens were well acquainted with the roads of central Asia Minor, they were able to calculate the distances and arrange the times of starting for the Eastern and Western armies respectively,<sup>5</sup> so that they could hope to arrive at the same time at Ancyra, if nothing untoward occurred.

Ashnas set out from Cilicia on June 19, and was directed to await the arrival of the Caliph's army at Lulon, the great fortress which commanded

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<sup>1</sup> De Goeje, iii. 1236 *sqq.* I have used the Russian translation of Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, i. Prilozhenie, 30 *sqq.* and my references are to it. So far as I know, Vasil'ev is the only modern critic who has worked up the relation of Tabari.

<sup>2</sup> He left Samarra early in April, Yakubi, in *Vas. Pril.* 9; cp. Masudi, *Golden Meadows*, *ib.* 68 (Barbier de Meynard, vii. 135).

<sup>3</sup> He started from Saruja (Tabari 31) = Surghi.

<sup>4</sup> The most direct route to Ancyra was by Caesarea. But that Afshin marched by Sebastea

must be inferred from the fact that his battle with the army of Theophilus was fought in the neighbourhood of Dazimon (Tokat). Vasil'ev is probably right in supposing (*op. cit.* 121) that it was part of the plan that Afshin should join another army, from Armenia and Melitene (perhaps τῆς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων στρατίας of Genesis 67). The westward roads from Melitene and Armenia met at Sebastea. The fertile plain of Dazimon (Kaz-ova) lay on the right (north) of the route Sebastea — Sebastopolis — Ancyra. Cp. Anderson's map of Asia Minor (1903).

<sup>5</sup> Tabari, *ib.*

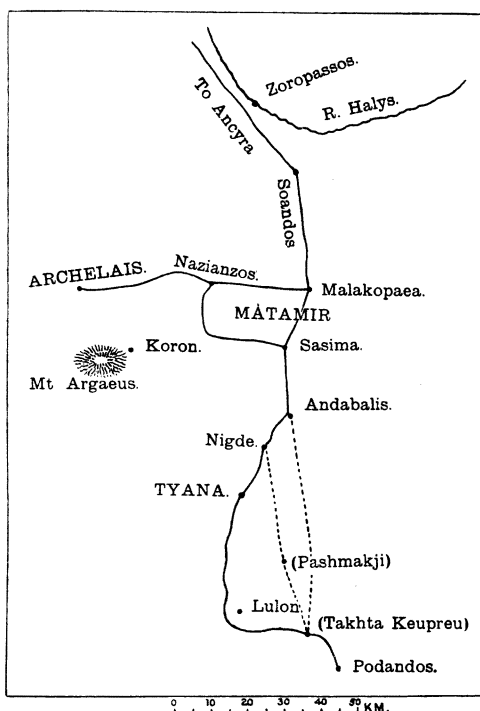
the northern approach of the Pass of Podandos or Cilician Gates.<sup>6</sup> Lulon was at this time in the possession of the Moslems; it had been captured by a general of Mamun in the autumn of A.D. 832.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime Mutasim himself had encamped in Western Cilicia near the river Lamos, which was the boundary between Roman and Saracen territory. For what reason he went to the Lamos is not stated, and I mention the fact only because it has a bearing on the subsequent narrative of Tabari. Mutasim set out two days after Ashnas (June 21) and crossed the Taurus by the Pass of Podandos, in his footsteps.<sup>8</sup>

In a manner very common in the Arabic chronicles, Tabari, without referring to the arranged meeting at Lulon, leaps abruptly to a further stage of the march of the invaders.

The two armies have again separated. Ashnas, evidently in advance, is at Marj-uskuf, and Mutasim in Matamir. Mutasim sends Ashnas a letter of which the tenor, as reproduced by Tabari, is unintelligible. 'The Emperor is in front of you and intends to throw his army across the Lamos. Remain where you are, at Marj-uskuf.'

Now we know the general locality of Matamir, a name which frequently occurs in the Arabic chronicles. It was a district in southern Cappadocia, north of Tyana, marked by *subterranean strongholds*, which are described by Ramsay.<sup>9</sup> This is the meaning of the word Matamir. The road from Tyana to Soandos, by Sasima and Malakopaia, traverses this district. Now the route

which, we may suppose, the Caliph would naturally have chosen, in order to reach Ancyra, would have been by Soandos (Nev Sheher), Parnassos, and



<sup>6</sup> Lulon and al-Safsaf are names for the same fortress as Ramsay has shown. For the identification of the fortress and a full description of the Pass, see Ramsay, *Geographical Journal*, Oct. 1903.

<sup>7</sup> Yakubi, in *Vas. Pril.* 8; Tabari, *ib.* 25.

<sup>8</sup> Tabari says that Mutasim sent the advance guard of his own army in the steps of Ashnas, and started himself on June 21. Masudi (*ib.* 68) says that Mutasim marched by the Pass

of Podandos (Darb as-Salam), Afshin by the Pass of Hadath, and other armies by other routes. The last words must refer not to Ashnas, but to the forces from Melitene and Armenia.

<sup>9</sup> *Historical Geography*, 293; 356 ('the plain of Venasa, about Sasima and Malokopaia; great underground residences are a special and peculiar feature of this plain, which lies on the direct road north from the Gates').



Akharbûs. Thus the first part of his march would have been through the region of Matamir.

As Ashnas was in advance of Mutasim, who was in Matamir, it seems to follow that Marj-uskuf must be sought north of Sasima. This place is mentioned in a route from Podandos to Dorylaion, described by Ibn Khurdadhbah<sup>10</sup> and Idrisi,<sup>11</sup> and discussed by Ramsay in his article on Lycaonia.<sup>12</sup> The first stations are Podandos — al-Karm — an-Nawba — al-Kanais — Wafra — Balisa — Marj al-Uskuf.<sup>13</sup> Ramsay thinks that this route (in which Lulon and Tyana do not occur) corresponds, in its first part, to 'the modern horse-road from Podandos by Takhta-Keupreu and Pashmakji to Nigde,' and that thence it proceeded 'through Hassa-Keui and Nenizi (Nazianzos) to Ak-Serai (Archelais).' This view certainly seems best to suit the data. Nigde lies north of Tyana on the main road from Tyana to Sasima. But may it not be that the ninth-century road from Podandos to Sasima lay further to the east than the present horse-road, and joined the Tyana-Sasima road not at Nigde, but at Andabalis? However this may be, we may, I suggest, identify Ibn Khurdadhbah's an-Nawba with Andabalis. As Sasima (Hassa-Keui) could not well be omitted in the itinerary, it is an obvious conjecture that it should be sought in the next station al-Kanais ('the churches').<sup>14</sup> This place is described by Ibn Khurdadhbah 'on the right of Kawkab.' It seems possible that Kawkab means Malakopaia, and if so, the description 'to the south of Malakopaia' would exactly apply to Sasima. The next important station on the route to Dorylaion, via Archelais, would be Nazianzos, and I propose to identify Nazianzos with Ibn Khurdadhbah's Marj al-Uskuf. I may point out that Nazianzos, rendered illustrious by its famous bishop Gregory, presents a motif for the name Marj al-Uskuf, 'bishop's meadow.'

We may now return to the message of the Caliph to his general. They are in southern Cappadocia, marching to Ancyra, and Ashnas is warned of the imminent danger of an attack from a Roman army which the Emperor Theophilus is ready to throw across the river—Lamos. If the Emperor were on the banks of the Lamos, he was no more dangerous to the northward march of the Saracens than if he had been on the banks of a river in Europe. In few places could he have been more safely out of the way than in the kleisurarchy of Seleucia. It is obvious that the Lamos has no relation to the military situation, and is simply an error of Tabari. The Emperor could not have been near the Lamos, for a few days later he fought a battle

<sup>10</sup> Translated by De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* vii. It is probable that the routes given by Ibn Khurdadhbah were derived from the work of Al-Garmi, who wrote books on the history and geography of the Roman Empire. He had been a captive among the Romans and was released on the occasion of the exchange of prisoners in A.D. 845. We know from Masudi that he wrote about the roads (transl. by Carra de Vaux, 257), and we know that Ibn Khur-

dadhbah made use of his works elsewhere (De Goeje, 77).

<sup>11</sup> Translation by Jaubert.

<sup>12</sup> *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, vii. 123–125 (1904).

<sup>13</sup> Some of Idrisi's stations are different, but both lists agree in Marj al-Uskuf.

<sup>14</sup> This station is given by Idrisi as well as Ibn Khurdadhbah.

in the north-east of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Tokat. The tenor of the narrative and the circumstances of the situation enable us without difficulty to correct the error. *The Lamos is a mistake for the Halys.* Tabari did not realise the map of Asia Minor, and we may conjecture that the error arose from his having mentioned the Lamos at the beginning of the narrative (see above). Arabic chroniclers were familiar with the name of the Lamos, because the exchanges of captives were generally carried out on its banks.

We can now understand the position. The Emperor, aware of the Caliph's designs on Ancyra, had assembled his forces east of the Halys. Calculating that the enemy would march by the Soandos-Parnassos road, which runs not far from the river, he intended to intercept it, crossing the river either near Parnassos, or at Zoropassos (north of Soandos), according to circumstances. The Caliph had received information that the Emperor was somewhere on the right of the Halys and he judged it imprudent to continue the march until the precise whereabouts and movements of the Romans were discovered. Three days later Ashnas received another despatch from Mutasim, commanding him to send an officer with a squadron of horse to search for and capture a Greek, who could give information about the Emperor and his army. Ashnas sent two hundred horsemen under Amr al-Fargani, who set out at night and rode to the fortress of Kurra, hoping to find in its environs some one who could tell them what they wanted to know. They did not succeed, and the commandant of Kurra laid an ambush for them 'in the mountains which are between Kurra and Durra.' 'This is a large mountain,' and it is in the district known as the district of Kurra. The Saracen captain, knowing of the ambush, went towards Durra and lay concealed till break of day. Then he divided his force into three bands and sent them in different directions to find a well-informed Greek, appointing a place of rendezvous. Amr caught one man, who belonged to the garrison of Kurra. He said that the Emperor was near at hand, 'behind the Lamos,' at a distance of four parasangs.<sup>15</sup>

Kurra often meets us in the Arabic chronicles. It is the fortress of Koron which Ramsay has identified with Viran Sheher, not far to the south-east of Archelais, and in the outskirts of Mt. Argaios (Hassan Dagh).<sup>16</sup> (As Koron was the residence of the kleisurarch of Cappadocia, it was natural for Ashnas to calculate that the position of the Emperor would be known to the garrison.) Argaios is evidently the mountain meant by Tabari, and Durra must have lain on another side of this mountain. The conjecture of Vasil'ev that Doara is meant does not suit the data, since Ramsay seems to be right in placing Doara at Haji Bektash, which lies beyond the Halys, considerably to the north of Soandos. Durra must be sought within an easy ride of Viran Sheher, somewhere in the skirts of Hassan Dagh. I conjecture that it may

<sup>15</sup> Tabari, 31-2. Tabari seems to mean four parasangs from the place where Amr captured the Greek. This is impossible, as Hassan Dagh is much further from the nearest point on the

Halys. I will return to this point further on.

<sup>16</sup> *Historical Geog.* 355, *Lycaonia* 127. The second beacon station from Lulon was, as Ramsay has shown, on this Mt. Argaios.

be the same as Nora which seems to have been in this region and is placed in Mr. Anderson's map at Halvadere on the north-west side of Hassan Dagħ.<sup>17</sup>

The data supplied (so far) by Tabari are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that Marj al-Uskuf is Nazianzos. The argument may be stated as follows :

(1) Marj al-Uskuf was a station on a route from Podandos to Dorylaion, which Ramsay, on independent grounds identified as passing by Sasima, Nazianzos, and Archelais.

(2) It was north of some locality in Matamir, and was on the way to Ancyra.

(3) It was not very far from Koron.

(4) It was at such a distance from the Halys that a day's march might bring an army advancing northward within striking distance of an army encamped on the other side of the river.

There is, however, another possibility. The name Marj al-Uskuf may have had two meanings, a wider and a narrower. It may have not only designated a place (*e.g.* Nazianzos), as it certainly does in the itinerary of Ibn Khurdadhbah ; it may also have described a district (like Matamir). Such a signification is suggested by another passage in which the name occurs, namely in Tabari's account of the perplexing campaign of A.D. 863. This campaign has been discussed by Ramsay, but he has not cleared up the difficulties.<sup>18</sup>

The two longest accounts, that of Genesios and that of the Continuer of Theophanes, are independent. They both agree that the Saracen general Omar captured Amisos, and both relate the anecdote that like Xerxes he lashed the waters of the Euxine because they hindered him from advancing further north. Neither the Logothete nor the Arabic chroniclers say anything about Amisos. The Logothete, however, records that Omar advanced plundering as far as Sinope, but he records this march as if it belonged to a different expedition and to a previous year.<sup>19</sup> Neither Genesios nor the Continuer mentions Sinope.

<sup>17</sup> Following Ramsay's conjecture, *Hist. Geog.* 308. Cp. Strabo, 12. 2. 5, ὁ τε Ἄργος ἔρυμα ὑψηλὸν πρὸς τῇ Ταύρῳ καὶ τὰ Νῶρα ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Νηροασσός, ἐν ᾧ Εὐμενὴς πολιορκούμενος ἀνέσχε πολλὸν χρόνον. He adds that Sisinas kept his treasures in it. This passage shows that Nora was a fort, and suggests that it was not far from Argos. Argos, as Ramsay says (353), must be associated with Mt. Argaios.

<sup>18</sup> *Hist. Geography* 77 (He is mistaken in the date which he gives as A.D. 860). The authorities are : (1) Arabic, Yakubi (11) ; Tabari, 62 (cp. Abu 'l-Fida, *Annals*, ed. Reiske, ii. 208) ; (2) Greek, the Logothete (= George Mon. ed.

Bonn 825, ed. Mural, 733-4 ; Theodosios Mel. 167, Leo Gramm. 238 ; cp. Pseudo-Symeon, 666) ; Genesios, 94-7 ; Cont. Th. 179-83. Skylitzes (Cedrenus 163-5) abbreviates from Cont. Th. (but 165, he adds πρὸς Μελιτηνὴν as the goal of the Emir's son, perhaps *suo Marte* ; and he interchanges the names of the river and the meadow). Zonaras, xvi. 3, 16-29 (ed. Büttner-Wobst, 396-7) depends on Skylitzes.

<sup>19</sup> George Mon. ed. Bonn, 824, c. 16. The notice is separated from the account of the battle of Lalakaon by a notice of Michael's expedition against the Bulgarians.

According to the narrative of Genesios, Omar was at Amisos when he heard that Petronas had been appointed commander of the Imperial forces and was about to take the field. He immediately left Amisos and marched 'about 500 miles' to a place called Porson, in the district of Abysianon 'on the borders of the Armeniac theme and Paphlagonia' and encamped on the side of a hill. Petronas was on the other side of this hill. Both commanders sent detachments to occupy the summit of the hill; a struggle ensued, and the Romans were successful. Subsequently there was a battle, in which Omar was defeated and slain. His son and a hundred followers escaped and crossed the Halys, but their flight was cut off in the Charsian province by Machairas, the merarch of that province.

According to the Continuer, Petronas found Omar encamped at a place called Poson which was naturally defensible (διὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημνῶν), near a river named Lalakaon, which flows from north to south, along a meadow called Gyrin (ἀγροικικῇ φωνῇ).<sup>20</sup> It was the object of Petronas to prevent him from escaping. He accordingly ordered the Generals of the Armeniacs, the Bucellarians, Kolonea, and Paphlagonia to close round on the north; those of the Anatolics, the Opsikians, and Cappadocia, with the kleisurarchs of Seleucia and Charsianon, to gather on the south; while he, with his own Thracesians, the Thracian and Macedonian themes, and the Imperial tagmata, closed in on the west. The east is not mentioned; but the river Halys was in itself an obstacle on that side, and the Koloneans at the extremity of the northern, and the Charsians at the extremity of the southern ring, sufficiently provided against escape in that direction. This passage is evidently derived from a good source, but it is followed by matter of different order, the anecdote of Omar's augury of disaster. When Omar heard that he was surrounded by the enemy, like a wild beast in a trap, he decided to take an augury, and sending for one of his captives he inquired the names of the place and the river and the meadow. The prisoner gave the name of the place as Ptōson (μικρὸν παραγραμματίζων Πτώσοντα ἔφησεν ἀντὶ Πόσσοντα), whence Omar inferred his own fall (πτῶσιν).<sup>21</sup> From the name of the river Lalakaon, he augured the defeat of his army (λαοὺ κάκωσιν), and from that of the meadow (Γύριν) that the Moslems would be heavily routed (γυρισθῆναι) by the Romans. It is evident that Greek punning on the local names *post eventum* gave rise to the anecdote. Omar then first sought to break through the enemy on the north, but was deterred by their strength and the difficulty of the ground. Finding it equally impracticable to escape by the south, he finally attacked Petronas, who was

<sup>20</sup> Poson is the only one of the local names mentioned by both Genesios and the Continuer. Lalakaon (εἰς τὸν Λαλακῶνα) is mentioned by the Logothete. None of the names are found, so far as I know, in other contexts. Ramsay refers to a correspondent of Photios, Θεόδωρος κατὰ τοὺς Λαλάκωνας (Ep. 63, ed. Valettas, p. 367). This means that Theodotos belonged

to the Lalakon family, members of which we meet elsewhere in history (e.g. Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* c. 45, p. 199; Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, in Harduin, *Conc.* v. p. 964). Of course a local connexion of the name is possible.

<sup>21</sup> This pun shows that Πόσσων is the correct form of the name, not Πόρσων as it is written in the text of Genesios.

encamped on the western side of his position. From the brief description of the battle which follows, it appears that after the Saracens had been repelled by the army of Petronas, the northern and southern armies rushed in, and almost annihilated them. Omar's son and a small band escaped, but were captured and slain by the kleisurarch of Charsianon.

It is clear that the accounts of Genesios and the Continuer are derived from different sources. They are both embroidered with anecdotes, which I have not, with two exceptions, reproduced, but these anecdotes, saving the scourging of the sea, are not the same. Hirsch says that the description of the battle in Genesios is completely different (*vollständig abweicht*) from that in the Continuer;<sup>22</sup> but there does not seem to be any inconsistency. The occupation of the hill, recorded by Genesios, may have been achieved days before the battle. Genesios does not mention the principal feature of the situation, the fact that Omar was surrounded, but his brief account does not imply anything inconsistent with this fact. The trustworthiness of the general narrative of the Continuer in regard to the position in which Omar's army was placed is borne out by the Arabic writers, Yakubi and Tabari, both of whom say that Omar was 'surrounded.'

For determining the locality of the battle the Greek sources furnish the following indications:

- (1) Omar marched about 500 miles from Amisos (Genesios);
- (2) the district was near the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes (Genesios);
- (3) the place was west of the Halys, near the borders of the Charsian theme (Genesios), and
- (4) close to a river flowing from north to south (Continuer);
- (5) there was a hill to the west of Omar's position at Poson (Genesios), and
- (6) there was rough and difficult ground to the north of his position (Continuer).

With the last three of these indications, I am unable to deal; but it may be possible from the other data to determine, within limits, the region in which the scene of the battle is to be sought. Ramsay adds another condition. He says that the battle was fought 'on the road that leads south from Sinope.' But the sources do not warrant this inference. Genesios expressly states that Omar marched from Amisos<sup>22a</sup>; and the sole reference to Sinope is the notice (mentioned above) in the Logothete's chronicle. The only way of combining that notice with the other data is to suppose that having taken Amisos, Omar proceeded along the coast as far as Sinope and then returned to Amisos. We are not justified in introducing Sinope into the conditions of the problem.

<sup>22</sup> *Byzantinische Studien*, 157.

<sup>22a</sup> *διοδεύσας ἀπὸ Ἀμισοῦ*.



Ramsay at once dismisses (1), merely saying that it 'is so absurd as to suggest a doubt about the text' of Genesios. But taken by itself, why is it absurd? Of course a march of 500 Roman miles southward from Amisus as the crow flies would have plunged Omar's army in the waves of the Mediterranean. But a march of 500 miles by the roads need do nothing of the kind. The distance is only absurd when compared with other data, and therefore it is not permissible to dismiss it until the inconsistent data are shown to be true or probable. Genesios may have been mistaken in locating the scene of operations near the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes. Accepting this datum and assuming that Omar marched from Sinope, Ramsay says: 'There are only two localities which can suit this description, one where the road from Sinope descends to Boiabad and the Halys, the other further south, where it again descends towards Andrappa and the Halys.' (Andrappa here is the Paphlagonian town of that name = Neoclaudiopolis.) The second hypothesis suits the proximity of the Charsian theme, and Ramsay decides in its favour. He marks the places in one of his maps conjecturally,<sup>23</sup> and says 'accurate exploration might probably determine the very spot where the battle was fought.'

Before proceeding further, it will be well to examine the objects of the contending parties. The Continuer brings out quite clearly that the arrangements of Petronas were designed to intercept and surround the Saracen army. What was the object of Omar? Genesios, in Herodotean style, has a conversation to relate, which passed between Omar and his officers when they received the news at Amisos that Petronas had been appointed commander and was preparing to take the field. The advice of the officers was that they should immediately retreat *by the road by which they had come*. 'If Petronas pursues and overtakes us, then we shall fight; if not, we shall reach home safely.' Omar however refused to take this advice. 'I will not let him accuse me of cowardice,' he said, 'I will go to meet him.' An anecdote of this kind cannot count for much, and it is not consistent with the account of the battle in the Continuer, where Omar appears anxious, not for a battle but to get away. The Logothete's chronicle furnishes the clue. The Roman generals waylaid the Saracen *on his retreat*<sup>24</sup> (λοχίσαντες τὴν τῆς ὑποστrophῆς αὐτοῦ). We may therefore infer that Omar, having marched into Roman territory by the eastern road from Melitene, instead of returning by the same way and so eluding Petronas, decided on—what probably was his original plan—marching home by the Pass of Podandos and the Cilician Gates, thus taking the risk of meeting the Roman army. To do this he had to cross the Halys, and several routes were open to him.

No indication of the route is given in the authorities, and his choice of course depended on military considerations which are unknown to us. The most direct road to Tyana would have been by Caesarea, but Omar may have planned originally to plunder the districts to the west of the Halys and

<sup>23</sup> *Hist. Geog.* Map between pp. 196 and 197.

<sup>24</sup> George Mon. ed. Bonn, 825.

determined to adhere to his programme. Supposing that he marched via Amasea—Euchaita—Tavium—Kuruk Kale (crossing of the Halys)—Ancyra—Parnassos, he would have traversed on reaching Soandos, a good deal more than 450 Roman miles.<sup>25</sup> This shows that the distance given by Genesisios 'about 500 miles' is not in itself absurd, though inconsistent with another part of his statement. The question therefore must be asked: are we to reject his distance or his assertion that the district was on the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes? If we had no other information, we might conclude (with Ramsay) that the distance was more likely to be erroneous. But we have other information.

Tabari states that the battle, in which Omar was killed, was fought at -rz, in Marj al-Uskuf. The initial letter of the place is *aleph*.<sup>26</sup>

It is clear that in this passage Marj al-Uskuf is the name, not of a place but of a district. Naturally it was a district in proximity to the place Marj al-Uskuf; hence it follows by our previous results that it was a district lying north of Matamir. It was therefore a region through which Omar's route to the Cilician pass, if he marched west of the Halys, would necessarily lie. Its limits of course we cannot tell; but if it stretched to the north of a line drawn from Nazianzos by Venasa to Soandos, a locality in this region would be reconcilable with the distance from Amisos given by Genesisios.

The independent evidence of Tabari leads me to conclude that the location of Poson and the stream of Lalakaon on the borders of the Paphlagonian and Armeniac themes is the mistake committed by Genesisios, and that Omar, when Petronas found him, had advanced much further on his homeward route, and was in the region south of Nyssa. From the account of the Continuer we may infer that he was close to the Halys, and not near a crossing, for he is not said to have made an attempt to escape on that side. I would ask travellers in this part of Cappadocia to search for the site of the battle in the region between Nyssa and the crossing of Zoropassos.

This discussion of the campaign of A.D. 863 was necessary to elucidate the passage in Tabari, which proves that Marj al-Uskuf meant a district as well as a place. I now go on to show that in Tabari's narrative of the campaign of A.D. 838, it also probably denotes the district.

The information furnished to Amr by the Greek captive, that the Emperor's army was 'near him, beyond the Halys, at a distance of four parasangs,'<sup>27</sup> must obviously signify the distance of the Emperor from the camp of Ashnas, not from the place where Amr caught the captive, in the vicinity

<sup>25</sup> I measured on Anderson's map of Asia Minor. The distance comes to 450 Roman miles, but if we allow for twistings of the roads and gradients, it must be considerably more.

<sup>26</sup> Baron Rosen (Tabari, ed. De Goeje iii. 1509) thought that the three letters may be read k, r, n; and Vasil'ev suggests (202, n. 5) that the name may correspond to Γῆριν.—We are unable to say how Petronas reached the scene of the battle. No doubt, he set out

from his own Thracian Theme (the anecdote in Cont. Th. 180 makes him visit Mt. Latros just before he started), and the most direct way to intercept Omar would have been by Archelais. The Thracian, Macedonian, and tagmatic troops, marching by Dorylaion and Amorion, might have joined him, e.g. at Tyriaion or Laodicea Kekaumene.

<sup>27</sup> Tabari, 32, and confirmed, 35.

of Koron and Hassan Dagħ. For Koron was at least twelve parasangs from the Halys. This is confirmed by the words with which Tabari records the return of Amr to the general's camp. He and his party proceeded 'to Ashnas, to the Lamos,' *i.e.* the Halys. This shows that the camp was near the river. We may suppose that it was somewhere north of Soandos on the road to Parnassos and Ancyra, which runs near the Halys. The Emperor, encamped on the other side, could cross at Zoropassos.

Before he returned to the camp, Amr captured some other Greeks who belonged to the Emperor's army. From them it was ascertained that the Emperor had been waiting for thirty days beyond the Halys, to intercept Mutasim's army; but when he had learned, a short time ago, that Afshin was advancing from the east, he marched with part of his forces to oppose him, leaving his cousin in command on the Halys. Soon after this, both Mutasim and Ashnas resumed their progress to Ancyra. There was a day's march between them.<sup>28</sup> Nothing is said of any attempt of the Emperor's cousin to attack them; and we discover afterwards the curious fact that after the Emperor's departure 'the army broke up; the soldiers left the Emperor's kinsman whom he named commander of the army in his own stead.'<sup>29</sup>

I do not propose to follow the campaign further. Tabari throws no light on the geographical problems connected with the battle in which Theophilus was defeated by Afshin in the region of Amasea.<sup>30</sup> I have tried to show that Marj al-Uskuf in the Arabic writers has two meanings—a place and a district: that the place is probably Nazianzos, and that the district extended north of the district known as Matamir, from Nazianzos, to the Halys, perhaps as far north as Nyssa.

J. B. BURY.

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P.S.—P. 122. The suggestion of another road from Podandos to Andabalis not passing Nigde is negatived by Sir W. M. Ramsay, who has pointed out to me that the Ala Dagħ, a ridge 10,000 feet high, stretches N. and S. on the east of the road to Nigde. In regard to the identification I propose of Al-Kanais with Sasima or Hassa Keui, he reminds me that this place has still some ecclesiastical importance as the refuge of St. Macrina.

P. 123, note 16. It may be well to caution the reader more explicitly against confounding Mt. Argaios near Archelais with the great Mt. Argaios near Caesarea.

P. 126, at foot. I should have added that the words of the Chronicle (cp. George Mon. 824 ed. Bonn), *ἰπέστρεψε μὴ καταληφθεῖς κ.τ.λ.*, implying that Omar returned from Sinope to Saracen territory, are against the connexion of this expedition with that of A.D. 863.

J. B. B.

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<sup>28</sup> If we may assume that there had been about the same distance between the camps, then, if we suppose that Mutasim was encamped somewhere near Malakopaia, in Matamir, Ash-

nas would have been in the neighbourhood of Soandos.

<sup>29</sup> Tabari, 36.

<sup>30</sup> Cp. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 329–30.



# **BYZANTINISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT**

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**UNTER MITWIRKUNG ZAHLREICHER FACHGENOSSEN**

**MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DES THERIANOSFONDS  
DER KÖNIGL. BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN**

**HERAUSGEGEBEN VON**

**KARL KRUMBACHER**  
O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT ZU MÜNCHEN

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**FÜNFZEHNTER BAND. JAHRGANG 1906**



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# I. Abteilung.

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## The treatise *De administrando imperio*.

The treatise of the Emperor Constantine VII, known by the inappropriate title with which its first editor Meursius endowed it, *De administrando imperio*, has been in parts as diligently studied as any document of Byzantine literature. But it has been studied only in parts. The precious and unique notices bearing upon Slavonic and Hungarian history have been microscopically scrutinised by the curiosity of Slavonic and Hungarian investigators, eager to penetrate the darkness which envelopes the early fortunes of their races; and others have joined them in the search. The treatise lends itself to piecemeal treatment. The sections relating to the Croatians and Servians, Magyars and Patzinaks, the Iberians and their neighbours can be extracted and printed as independent documents.<sup>1)</sup> The result has been that the treatise has not been studied as a whole. Such a study is however indispensable. It is now universally recognised as a fundamental principle in historical work that philological criticism (literary and quellenkritisch) is the necessary preparation for a satisfactory use of authorities. Documents are not ready for the constructive operations of the historian till they have been submitted to the analytical operations of the philologist. An analysis of Constantine's treatise is all the more a desideratum, because its varied contents are so important to historical investigators in many fields of research. It would be impossible to acknowledge too gratefully the valuable material, serving provisionally as a commentary on the *De administrando imperio*, which Rambaud supplied in his great monograph on the life and times of

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1) For instance, the Slavonic by Šafarik, the South-slavonic by Rački, the Hungarian in the new publication of the Hungarian Academy which will be noticed below.

Constantine Porphyrogennetos.<sup>1)</sup> But the French historian has devoted only four pages to the consideration of the treatise as a whole. I hope that the study, which I offer now, of the composition of the work and its sources may not be unwelcome as a first attempt to supply what I have felt myself to be a serious want.<sup>2)</sup>

### Summary.

- § 1. Author's division of contents
- § 2. The *κεφάλαια*
- § 3. Chronological data
- § 4. Evidence of patchwork: cc. 29—36 (Dalmatia)
- § 5. Evidence of patchwork: cc. 14—25 (Saracens)
- § 6. The formula *ἑστίον ὄντι* (*ἔστι*)
- § 7. Sources: embassies &c
- § 8. South Italy (c. 27): source &c, The Narses story
- § 9. South Italy (c. 29). Relation to Vita Basilii
- § 10. Venice (cc. 27, 28): source
- § 11. Italy (c. 26): source. Liutprand's Antapodosis
- § 12. Dalmatia and the Southern Slavs (cc. 29—36): sources
- § 13. Hungarians and Patzinaks (cc. 37—40): sources &c
- § 14. Sarkel (c. 42). The Continuation of Theophanes
- § 15. The siege of Patrae (c. 49): source
- § 16. Chronological conspectus
- § 17. Logical defects of the treatise, and signs of incompleteness. Its value.

§ 1. While the Emperor Constantine doubtless availed himself largely of the help of secretaries and amanuenses in the composition of this treatise<sup>3)</sup>, there is not the smallest evidence to suggest that it

1) As Diehl truly said in 1899: aujourd'hui encore chose vraiment extraordinaire en une matière que les récentes recherches ont presque renouvelée, ce livre, vieux de près de trente années, n'est point un livre vieilli (*Études byzantines*, 1905, p. 27). We may repeat the remark to day, and the book is six years older.

2) I have not taken the trouble to look at G. Laskin's *Sochineniia Konstantina Bagrianorodnago o Themakh i o Narodakh*, Moscow 1899, as it is abundantly evident from the long notice of S. Papadimitriu in *B. Z.* IX (1900) 515—23, that it is quite worthless and nothing is to be learned from it.

3) I will refer to it in future as *Adm.* The unfortunate name introduced by Meursius has been too long, and too widely, current to be discarded. *Περὶ ἑστίων*, though incomparably better, does not cover the latter portion of the work. *Ad Romanum* would be most correct; but then there is another treatise which can claim the same title, in the Appendix to *De cerim.*, Bk. 1.

My references are throughout to the pages of Bekker's text (1840). What Bekker did was to collate the old text of Meursius (1611 and 1617) based on an inferior Palatine Ms. with the improved text of Banduri (*Imp. Orient.*, vol. 1, 1711) based on the best existing Ms., Parisinus 2661, now 2009; to record the variants of these editions; and to add some corrections from the Parisinus itself.

is not his own work in the fullest sense of the word, in the details of execution as well as in the general design and arrangement. He speaks in his own name in the preface (pp. 65—67) and in other passages where his son is addressed (67—68, 90, 4—6, 182, 1—12, 213, 23—214, 2, 216, 12—18). We get the personal note too in an ironical reference to Romanus Lecapenus (241, 8 τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶπεν ἐγκρατοὺς γενομένου).<sup>1</sup>) We have no reason to question his personal responsibility for all parts of the treatise.

In the preface, p. 66, he explains its arrangement. He states that it falls into four divisions:

1° principles for dealing with the barbarian neighbours of the Empire, showing what peoples are dangerous and how they can be kept in check by raising up other peoples against them;

2° the unreasonable demands of the ἔθνη and how to meet them;

3° descriptive ethnology, history, and geography of the peoples surrounding the Empire; and on some passages (τῶν ἐν τινι καιρῷ συμβεβηκότων) between the Empire and various peoples<sup>2</sup>);

4° some domestic innovations, and public events, within the Empire.

The treatise corresponds to this description of its contents, and the divisions between the four sections are marked by transitions in which the Emperor addresses his son. There are further indicated three subdivisions of the third Section which occupies nearly half the work: see p. 182 (c. 43) περὶ μὲν τῶν βορείων Σκυθῶν ἱκανῶς σοι δεδήλωται — δεῖ δέ σε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀγνοεῖν, and pp. 213—4 (c. 46) ἴσθι δὲ καὶ κτλ.

§ 2. Let us now tabulate the chapters (κεφάλαια) and see how they correspond to the author's divisions.

In Bekker's notes *vulgo* means Meursius + Banduri. For instance, the restoration of Μορδίας for Μηδίας, p. 166, 18, is due to Bekker. It is curious that Bekker did not prefix a word of preface explaining what he had done. The Mss. have been discussed by Vári in the Akadémiai Értésítő of the Hungarian Academy, 72, 710—12, Dec. 1895. His article is not at hand, but from the notice of Pecz in B. Z. VI 590 I infer that he has not mentioned the Palatinus of Meursius. This exists as no. 126, ff. 2—129, of the Palatini in the Vatican. It was written by Antonius eparcha, when he was a boy, in 1509. See Stevenson, Codd. Mss. Pal. Graec. Bibl. Vat. (1885) p. 60.

1) Also in the Iberian narrative pp. 200—5.

2) This last might be considered an independent section, but the author seems to connect it more closely with section 3. The four divisions are indicated by πρῶτα μὲν —, ἔπειτα —, εἶθ' οὕτως —, and καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα —.

## Table of Contents.

- 1°: how to manage the  $\xi\theta\nu\eta$  = pp. 67—81 = cc. 1—13, paragraphs 1 and 2;  
 2°: how to treat the demands of the  $\xi\theta\nu\eta$  = pp. 81—90 = rest of c. 13;  
 3°: ethnology, geography &c,  
     A. of Saracens, Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, and northern  $\xi\theta\nu\eta$ <sup>1)</sup> = pp. 90—182 = cc. 14—42;  
     B. of eastern  $\xi\theta\nu\eta$  = pp. 182—213 = cc. 43—46 (except last paragraph);  
     C. on certain relations between the Empire and various  $\xi\theta\nu\eta$  = pp. 213—216 = cc. 46 *fin.* — 48 *med.*;  
 4°: internal innovations = pp. 216—270 = cc. 48 *med.* — 53.

This table shows at a glance that the Chapters do not correspond to the author's division of the material or reproduce his intention.

1) C. 13 is headed  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \pi\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\zeta\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \xi\theta\nu\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , a description which applies only to the first paragraph. The second paragraph (p. 81, 13—15) concerns the hostility of the Patzinaks to the Hungarians. It is clear that these two notices ought to form one, or two, separate Chapters; it is absurd that they should be stuck on to the beginning of a Chapter which is occupied with the Second Section of the treatise. 2) And it is absurd, if the Chapters and their headings have any meaning, that this Second Division should have no heading at all. 3) It is similarly illogical that the transition from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> Section should be in the middle of a chapter (48).

We can hardly escape the conclusion that originally there was no division into numbered chapters. The division was based on short summaries or descriptions which were written in the margin, according to a common practice, to facilitate the perusal. But whether these marginal indices were added (as I should consider probable) in the original Ms., or not, they did not represent, and were not intended to determine, adequate subdivisions of the work. They were only a rough guide for the reader, and in many cases they are omitted where we should expect them. A further examination will make this clearer.

P. 79. At the end of c. 9, which is devoted to the Russians,

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1) The divisions are of course incomplete and illogical: the Saracens should come under B and Italy with Dalmatia should have formed a distinct subdivision. The distinction of B from A seems to have been an afterthought. See below § 17.

comes the statement *ὅτι οἱ Οὐῆοι δύνανται τοῖς Πατρίνακίταις πολεμεῖν*. This is quite alien to what goes before, and if the chapters meant anything, should form a chapter by itself. That it was not separated is due to the fact that it was not distinguished by a marginal index.

Pp. 82 *sqq.* It is remarkable that no attempt was made to digest the Second Section of the treatise by marginal summaries. As three *ἔκαιροι αἰτήσεις* are discussed, it naturally falls into three parts (82, 6—84, 10; 84, 11—85, 21; 85, 22—90, 3), which could not fail to constitute three chapters, if chapters had been part of the design of the book.

Pp. 96 *sqq.* Cc. 21 und 22 ought, if the divisions were logical, to be broken up each into several chapters, on the analogy of cc. 15—20. This part of the work, which is largely derived from Theophanes, will be submitted to a closer examination presently (§ 5); but I will point out here how the heading of c. 21 betrays the nature of these *soi-disant* titles.<sup>1)</sup> *ἐκ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ Θεοφάνους· ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου 590α'*. It may be observed that the description "from the Chronicle of Theophanes" does not apply to the greater part of the chapter; but I will not press this now, as I shall have to return to it. But "the year A. M. 6171" is not the date of any of the events which are *described* in the chapter. The event with which the chapter opens (*εἰσῆλθον οἱ Μαρδαῖται εἰς τὸν Λίβανον*) belongs to the year 6169 (Theoph. s. a.); and it is dated as *πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ Μαβίου*. *Μαβίας* died in 6171; therefore the words *ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κτλ.* are obviously a marginal note to *τελευτῇ*.

P. 113. It is evident that the two last paragraphs of c. 25 should be distinct chapters, and that the description at the head of *κεφ. κέ'*, "from the history of Theophanes" applies only to the first paragraph (pp. 110, 8—112, 5).

Pp. 121, 19—122, 23. All this Venetian matter is connected more closely with the following chapter than with the South-Italian affairs which occupy the main part of c. 27.

P. 217. The heading of c. 48 (*ὁ ζητῶν ὅπως — ἐκ τῆς παρούσης μνηθανέτω γραφῆς*) suggests by its form that it is a marginal addition.

P. 220. The heading of c. 50 ("concerning the Peloponnesian Slavs and the Mainotes") applies only to pp. 220, 21—224, 17, and ignores all the rest of the "chapter" (pp. 220, 22—233), which deals with various matters and ought to constitute a number of different *κεφάλαια*.

1) See too the titles of c. 17, 22 and 25 ("from Theophanes"); c. 48 ("29<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the Trullan Synod"); c. 16 ("from the canon of Stephanos").

Pp. 242—3. The last three paragraphs of c. 51 are not covered by the heading.

P. 214, c. 47. Here we have a different case. The title, unlike all the other titles, is categorical in form: *περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων μεταναστάσεως ἔχει ἡ ἱστορία τὰδε*. The text begins *τῆς νήσου ἀλωθείσης*, although the island has not been mentioned before. It is evident that the sentence *περὶ τῆς — τὰδε* is not a heading but part of the text.

This examination proves beyond question that the *κεφάλαια* do not represent a logical division of the contents, but are haphazard marginal indices.<sup>1)</sup> Of course, if this system of marginal indication of topics had been carried out completely, it might have served as the basis of a convenient capitular arrangement; but, as we have seen, it is sadly defective, and consequently the arrangement for which it is responsible only perplexes the reader and disfigures the construction of the work, helping to conceal the significance of the addresses to Romanus by which Constantine deliberately marked off not only the four chief Sections of the work, but the subdivisions of Section 3.

When I refer in this article to the numbered chapters, it is for the sake of convenience, and without prejudice to this conclusion.

§ 3. The composition of the treatise extended over some years. The terminus post quem is evidently July 15, 948, the date of the death of Romanus I, who is repeatedly spoken of as no longer alive (cp. p. 88). Cc. 27 and 29 were written in A. M. 6457, ind. 7 = A. D. 948—9 (pp. 120, 137), and c. 26 not later than A. D. 950 (p. 118, *Ἀωθαρίῳ τῷ νυνὶ ὄντι Ἰταλίας ῥῆγι*).<sup>2)</sup> On the other hand c. 45 was written in A. M. 6460, ind. 10 = A. D. 951—2 (p. 199). Rambaud draws the following conclusion: "Ainsi les 29 premiers chapitres au moins furent rédigés en 949 et 950; deux années s'écoulèrent avant la rédaction du chapitre 45; et ce n'est guère que l'année suivante (953) que le livre parut à la lumière."<sup>3)</sup> This statement suggests that, in Rambaud's conception, the first part of the book was composed in 949, and that the rest was gradually added during the next three years, or else the work was left aside and completed in 952.

1) One marginal index has been preserved in the margin of the Parisinus, at the beginning of c. 42; see Banduri's note, ed. Bonn p. 369, in ms. eadem manu ad marginem scribitur: *περιήγησις γεωγραφικὴ τῆς Σκυθικῆς γῆς*.

2) Lothar died on Nov. 22 950 (Dümmler, Otto der Große, p. 184, n. 2).

3) L'empire grec, p. 172. I do not see the object of adding 'et 950', since this year, the date of Lothar's death, is only a limit.

On the same principle Marczali infers<sup>1)</sup> as probable that the chapters on the Hungarians and Patzinaks, cc. 36—40, because they lie between c. 29 (A. D. 948—9) and c. 45 (A. D. 951—2), must have been written in A. D. 950, 951.

If this theory of the continuous composition of the work in the order which its sections occupy were correct, we could point to an interval of at least a year in which it was entirely intermitted. For we have in any case a definite limit of date for the composition of c. 30. We find there the following notice (p. 144, 7—10): *οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Χρῳάβατοι ἔμειναν πρὸς Φραγγίαν καὶ λέγονται ἀρτίως Βελοχρῳάβατοι — ἔχοντες τὸν ἰδίον ἄρχοντα· ὑπόκεινται δὲ Ὡτῶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ῥηγὶ Φραγγίας τῆς καὶ Σαξίας.* The meaning has been explained convincingly, and for the first time, by Westberg<sup>2)</sup>, who has shown that Constantine's *Βελοχρῳατία* includes Bohemia, Moravia, and the land of the Slovaks.<sup>3)</sup> The reference is therefore to the Bohemian realm, and the *ἰδιος ἄρχων* of the time was Boleslav I. But Boleslav was reduced by Otto the Great in summer (May or June) 950.<sup>4)</sup> Here then we have a new date for Adm. — July 950 as the upper limit for c. 30. The manner however in which Constantine speaks of the subjection of the Bohemian kingdom to Otto does not suggest that the words were written in consequence of an immediate announcement of the German king's success. We can say with probability that c. 30 was written *after* 950. There was therefore an interval of more than a year, probably not less than two years, between c. 30 and the notice in c. 29 which is dated 948—9.

If then the portions of the book were written in the order in

1) A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi (publ. by the Hungarian Academy), 1900, p. 90: a magyarokról szóló fejezetek a kettő közé esnek és így némi valószínűség szól a mellett hogy ezeket 950—951—ben írta.

2) Ibrahim's-Ibn-la'kūb's Reisebericht über die Slawenlande aus dem Jahre 965 (in the Zapiski of the St. Petersburg Academy, ser. VIII, cl. hist.-phil., III 4 1898) pp. 97—101. These pages are valuable for the study of Constantine's notices of Great Moravia and White Croatia. One of the points is that the old Lech kingdom had ceased to exist before the time of Constantine, perhaps extinguished by Sviatopluk.

3) Schafarik had already seen that Moravia and Bohemia were implied (Slawische Altertümer II p. 244), but he failed to advance to Westberg's logical inference. Westberg equates the Northern Serbia with Galicia + Little Poland = Quellengebiet of Dniester and Vistula. I cannot accept this White Serbia. There can be little doubt, I think (with Roesler and Jagić), that *Βόικι τόπος* (Adm. 152) is Boio-haemum.

4) See Dümmler op. cit. pp. 180—1. Boleslav had been independent since A. D. 936.



which they respectively stand, we have to suppose that the work was interrupted in the middle of the part about Dalmatia and not resumed for two years or more. But is the underlying assumption tenable? There are obviously two other possibilities. The treatise might have been sketched out as a whole and the greater part of it written in 948—9, but some sections, whether few or many, might have been inserted during the next few years. Or the articles on the various subjects treated might have been prepared, independently of one another, and “pigeon-holed”, during the years 949—52, and not arranged in their final order before 952 or later. I will show hereafter (§ 11), from chronological data, that c. 26 was composed not before the 8<sup>th</sup> indiction, and therefore *after* c. 27, which, as we have seen, is dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> indiction. This result would enable us to reject the theory of consecutive composition. But independently of definite chronological data, an examination of the treatise reveals facts, hitherto ignored, which can only be explained by one of the two alternative hypotheses, a rehandling and expansion of a preliminary sketch, or compilation from a collection of notices, written with a view to incorporation in the treatise but irrespectively of the order in which they were subsequently to appear. I proceed to set forth the grounds for this conclusion.

§ 4. It has been shown above that while c. 29 was written in the 7<sup>th</sup> indiction, 948—9, c. 30 was not written before the 9<sup>th</sup>, 950—1. These chronological data are confirmed by other internal evidence which shows that these two chapters could not conceivably have been composed as a whole by the same author at the same time. The foundation of Spalato is recorded three times<sup>1)</sup>; but the decisive proof that the two chapters were written independently of each other is the duplicate narrative of the Avar capture of Salona, pp. 141, 15—143, 20 = 126, 8—128, 2. An inspection shows at once that we have here to do with two reproductions of the same original document, made by the author at different times.<sup>2)</sup>

Now the following chapters, 31—36, which treat of the Slavs of Dalmatia and Servia, are closely connected with c. 29 and were composed contemporaneously. This is practically proved by the fact that in c. 29 the writer refers the reader in anticipation to cc. 31—36. He says (128, 7): *ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων,*

1) Pp. 125, 21, 137, 15, 141, 11; it is mentioned again in connexion with the Croats p. 149, 5.

2) See below § 12.

καθ' ὃν μέλλει τρόπον ῥηθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῶν Χρωβάτων καὶ Σέρβλων συγγραφῇ, πᾶσα ἡ Δελματία καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἔθνη οἷον Χρωβάτοι Σέρβλοι Ζαχλοῦμοι Τερβοννιδῶται Καναλεῖται Διοκλητιανοὶ καὶ Ἀρεν-  
τανοὶ καὶ οἱ Παγανοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι\*.<sup>1)</sup> Now the συγγραφὴ of the Croats Servians &c is cc. 31—36. It is justifiable to infer that in writing this passage Constantine had prepared and was about to compose the notices in 31—36.

It follows that cc. 29, 31—36<sup>2)</sup> form a consecutive text, and that c. 30 is a later addition, composed independently and containing partly new and partly old material. In writing 30 the author had forgotten that he had already related the capture of Salona in 29, and is equally oblivious of the fact that the coming of the Croats and their conquest of the Avars are related in 31. These two duplications suggest both that the insertion of 30 was considerably later, and that the work never enjoyed a final revision.<sup>3)</sup>

It may be added that the portion contained in 30 differs in form from 28. It is to be observed that the notices throughout the greater part of the treatise are introduced by the formula *ἴστέον ὅτι* or simply *ὅτι*, — a point which will be considered more fully below (§ 6). Now in 29 as in 31—36 these formulae are used, as normally, but not in 30. Whereas 30 is introduced by a preface such as does not occur elsewhere except at the beginning of a main division or subdivision of the work: *εἰ πᾶσιν ἡ γυνῶσις καλόν*, — *ἵνα διπλοῦν ἐπανακολουθῇ τὸ καλόν* (p. 140).<sup>4)</sup> Thus formally also, 30 is an interruption; 31 follows naturally on to 29.

We thus see that the theory of consecutive composition is untenable. But there are more proofs.

§ 5. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Section opens with an historical sketch of the Cali-

1) The predicate has fallen out of the text, and has been supplied in Banduri's translation in a sense exactly the reverse of that which is required. This has been pointed out by Grot, *Zur Kritik einer Stelle des Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, Arch. f. slav. Phil. 5 (1881) 392. He suggests *δουλικῶς εἰσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων*. Rather: *προσαγορευόμενοι* <*δουλικῶς ἦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑποτεταγμένοι*>. The omission was ex homoeoteleuto.

2) The *Zusammengehörigkeit* of these chapters, as distinct from 30, is further illustrated by the fact that in them the relation of the Slavonic settlements to Heraclius is prominent (his name occurs in ten contexts), whereas in 30 where the Croatian conquest in also noticed there is no reference to him.

3) Further, in writing 31, he knew nothing of the baptism of the Croats in the 9<sup>th</sup> century which he records in 30. See below § 12.

4) It differs from the transitions between Sections in not being expressly addressed to Romanus.

phate, and an analysis of this portion (pp. 90—106), which is mainly derived from Theophanes, will afford us further insight into the process by which the treatise was compiled. We must examine it in detail, and for this purpose I will break it up into divisions distinguished by letters of the alphabet.

*a* = pp. 90, 13—92, 7 (= c. 14), on Mohammad, is taken almost word for word from George Monachus, II 697—699 and 706 (ed. De Boor), who depends here mainly on Theophanes A. M. 6122 (De B. 333, 14—334, 22).<sup>1)</sup>

*b* = p. 92 (= c. 15), origin and character of the Fatimites. Source unknown. Here, as in *a*, Mohammad is called *Μουχούμετ* (as in George Mon.); whereas in the parts derived from Theophanes the form is *Μουάμεθ*. The two forms are equated, p. 93, 9.

*c* = p. 93 (= c. 16), the Hijra. The title of the *κεφάλαιον* evidently consists of two marginal notes: [α] *ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος ὃν ἐθεμάτισεν Στέφανος ὁ μαθηματικὸς περὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξόδου*. [β] *ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως ἐγένετο καὶ τίς ἦν τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων*. The second is the regular marginal index; while the first is a note to the words *τὸ θεμάτιν τῶν ἀντῶν Σαρακηνῶν*, supplying the source. It is to be observed that the date is given not in the era used by Theophanes, but in the Constantinopolitan reckoning.

*d* = pp. 93, 14—94, 15 (= c. 17), on Abubekr and the Mohammadan doctrines, is copied from Theophanes A. M. 6122, with the exception of two lines, p. 94, 1—3, which mark a transition in the transcription. Under this year, à propos of the death of Mohammad, Theophanes gives an account of Mohammadanism. The middle part of this account had already appeared in *a*, where it was taken not from the original but from George Monachus. Here the initial and final parts are copied, and are separated from each other by the two lines just mentioned. Thus:

Adm. 93, 14—94, 1 = Theoph. De Boor 333, 1—13

Adm. 94, 1—3

Adm. 94, 3—15 = Theoph. De Boor 334, 17—27.

But although *a* and *d* supplement each other, in general, in regard to the original, they repeat each other at one point. The final portion of the passage of Theophanes, which is copied fully in *d*, is reproduced briefly (from George) in *a* (91, 20—92, 2). Moreover one

1) The sentence *καὶ ἐδίδαξεν — εἰσέρχεται*, 91, 21—92, 1, is only found in Coislinianus 305, which represents the first form of George's work: cp. De Boor, Praefatio to his ed. of George pp. LXVIII—LXX.

statement of the chronographer receives different interpretations in *a* and *d*:

Theoph. 134, 16: καὶ οὕτως ἐκ γυναικῶν <ἡ φήμη> ἦλθεν εἰς ἄνδρας, πρῶτον Ἀβουβάχαρον, ὃν καὶ διάδοχον κατέλιπεν.

*a* 91, 17 (= George Mon.): προῆλθε τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα φύλαρχον τοῦνομα Βουβάχαρ. ἡ οὖν γυνὴ θανοῦσα καὶ τοῦτον διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον καταλείψασα τῶν ἑαυτῆς, ἐγένετο [sc. Βουβάχαρ] περιφανῆς καὶ ἔργαν ὑπερούσιος.

*d* 94, 2: πρῶτος οὖν Ἀβουβάχαρ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτὸν καὶ προφήτην ἐκήρυξεν, διὸ καὶ διάδοχον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν.

It is evident that while the writer of *d* rightly referred κατέλιπεν to Mohammad, the author of *a*, i. e. George, imagined that the subject of the verb was Χαδίγα.

*e* = pp. 94, 18—96, 6 (cc. 18—20), caliphates of Abubekr, Omar and Othman, — brief notices derived from Theophanes:

94, 18—21 = Theoph. A. M. 6124, 6125

95, 3—14 = " " " 6127<sup>1</sup>)

95, 16—17 = " " " 6139

95, 19—22 = " " " 6140

95, 22—96, 2 = " " " 6145

At the end of the passage, the caliphate of Moāwiya is noticed. The expedition against Constantinople is mentioned (Theoph. A. M. 6165), and it is added: ἐλυμήνατο τὴν τε Ἐφεσον καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν καὶ Σμύρναν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις Ἰωνίας. Theoph. says nothing of Ephesus and Halicarnassus, but for Smyrna see *sub* A. M. 6164.

*f* = pp. 96, 9—97, 10 (c. 21), (1) the Mardaites, and the conclusion of peace between Moāwiya and Constantine IV, (2) the struggle between Moāwiya and Ali. Source, Theophanes:

97, 9—97, 2 = Theoph. A. M. 6169

97, 2—10 cp. Theoph. A. M. 6147, 6148, 6151.

*g* = pp. 97, 11—98, 1 (c. 21), the Maurophoroi, and Saracen occupation of Spain. This follows on to the last words of *f* — ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ γενεὰ ἔτη ο' — and is to be compared with Theoph. A. M. 6240, 6241. The passage presents difficulties and must be more carefully examined.

καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν [sc. Μαβίαν] ἐξῆλθον οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαυροφόροι ἀπὸ Περσίδος, οἱ κρατοῦντες ἕως τῆς σήμερον, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν τὴν γενεὰν τοῦ Μαβίου καὶ ἠφάνισαν αὐτήν, ἐσφαζαν δὲ καὶ Μαρουάμ

1) Of the capture of Jerusalem, the text of Theophanes gives παρέλαβεν αὐτήν λόγῳ. Constantine gives (falsely) δόλω (not noticed by De Boor).

τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ ὀλίγοι τοῦ Μαβίου, καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν παρὰ τῶν Μαυροφόρων ἕως τῆς Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ καὶ ἑνὸς ἐκρόνου τοῦ Μαβίου. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκρόνος τοῦ Μαβίου μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ῥινοτιμήτου, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦ Πωγωνάτου. τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱστορικοῖς οὐ γέγραπται· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ παρελήφθη ἡ μεγάλη Ῥώμη παρὰ τῶν Γότθων, ἤρξατο ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἱστορικῶν τῶν τῆς Ἰσπανίας μερῶν ἐποίησατο μνηεῖαν οὔτε τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Μαβίου. ἔχει δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους ἡ ἱστορία οὕτως.

In the text, as it stands, there is a glaring contradiction. The writer, priding himself on his knowledge of the origin of the Omayyad dynasty in Spain, emphatically states that no Greek historian has recorded it; and then adds "such is the relation of Theophanes"! We cannot credit him with this absurdity.

As a matter of fact Theophanes has recorded the crossing to Spain sub a. 6241. Let us compare his narrative with Constantine's.

De Boor 424, 11 ἐκινήθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικωτέρων μερῶν τῆς Περσίδος λαοὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Χωροσανῖται Μαυροφόροι κατὰ τοῦ Μαρουὰμ καὶ πάσης τῆς συγγενείας κτλ.

425, 13 καταδιώκεται Μαρουὰμ ὑπὸ τῶν Μαυροφόρων καὶ καταληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κτείνεται.

426, 1 οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες υἱοὶ τε καὶ συγγενεῖς τοῦ Μαρουὰμ ἐλθόντες ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ἀφρικὴν κάκειθεν ἀντιπεράσαντες τὸ διορίζον μεταξὺ Λιβύης καὶ Εὐρώπης τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν στενῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ λεγόμενον Σέπται, τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης Σπανικὴν ᾤκησαν μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου, ἔχοντές τινας προκατοικήσαντας αὐτόθι τῶν ἀπὸ Μανίου διὰ πλοῦς ἐκριφέντων ἐκεῖσε, συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θρησκείας.

The differences between the two accounts are fundamental, and there is no resemblance to warrant the assumption that Constantine was acquainted with the narrative of Theophanes. Constantine has confused two different things: the conquest of Spain by Tarik in A. D. 711 (in the reign, as he says, of Justinian) and the arrival of Abd ar-Rahman (ὁ ἐκρόνος τοῦ Μαβίου) in A. D. 755, who inaugurated the Spanish dynasty of the Omayyads. In consequence of this confusion, he antedates the death of Marwan II and rise of the Abbāsids by forty years. And this mistake explains how it was that he overlooked the account of Theophanes. The emphatic assertion that "none of our historians" records these facts undoubtedly implies that he sought for a notice of them in Theophanes. He did not find it, because he

sought under the reign of Justinian. Theophanes places the event in its right chronological setting. The difference between the two accounts is further shown by the fact that, while Constantine has a clear grasp of the importance of one particular descendant of Moāwiya (sc. Abd ar-Rahman), Theophanes only speaks generally of sons and kinsmen of Marwan.

Hence it is quite clear that the sentence *ἔχει δὲ τοῦ μ. Θεοφ. ἡ ἱστορία οὕτως* does not refer to what precedes. It seems to be a marginal note which has got into the text (with addition of *δέ*), and to refer to what follows.

*h* = p. 98, 1—16 (c. 21), the successors of Moāwiya. Source, Theophanes, A. M. 6171, 6175; and, for death of Constantine (with the erroneous addition *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Παγώναντου*), A. M. 6177.

*i* = pp. 98, 17—102, 16 (c. 21), Moāwiya as general and caliph, and the siege of Constantinople in A. D. 717. Source unknown. Here Moāwiya is introduced afresh, as if he had never been mentioned before. The destruction of the colossus of Rhodes is recorded at greater length, and the struggle with Ali (which had been noticed in *f*) is told in another and fuller form.

*k* = pp. 102, 20—106, 19 (c. 22), succession of the caliphs: Abd al-Malik and Justinian II, Valid, conquest of Africa and Spain, the successors of Valid. Source, chiefly Theophanes.

The text begins here abruptly: *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξεβλήθη κτλ.* The title of the *κεφάλαιον* explains who is meant by *αὐτοῦ*:

*ἐκ τοῦ χρονογράφου τοῦ Θεοφάνους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ Μαβίου καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτοῦ ὅπως διεπέρασεν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ. Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος [sic] ὁ ῥινότμητος.*

It is clear that we have here two distinct notes. (α) *ἐκ τοῦ* — *Ἰσπανίᾳ* is the marginal index, stating the subject of the text (103, 1—105, 2). But *περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν* is unintelligible; it could hardly mean *περὶ τῶν Ἀράβων*. I suspect that it is corrupt and that *<Μαροδ>αιτῶν* should be restored. (β) *Ῥωμαίων* — *ῥινότμητος* is a marginal note, added to explain *αὐτοῦ*.

But the text, as it stands, evidently implies that *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ κτλ.* was immediately preceded by a sentence in which Justinian was mentioned. In other words, it follows on immediately to p. 98, 16 (*καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ*), and explains the distinction between his first reign and his later restoration. This is further made clear by the sentence which follows (103, 1): *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀποστέλλει Ἀβιμέλεχ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανόν κτλ.* In what year?

We have to go back to 98, 16 to discover: the year in which Constantine IV died and Justinian succeeded. Thus in order to explain the text we have to assume the absence of the portion which I have designated as *i* (= pp. 98, 17—102, 16).

We may now compare the text of *k* with Theophanes. p. 103, 1—17 = Theoph. A. M. 6178, De B. 363, 6—20. Then follows τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει εἰσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν κτλ. This however does not belong to the same but to the following year (A. M. 6179). A passage must have fallen out of the text, corresponding to some of the notices in Theophanes, De B. 363, 21—32 (τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει κτλ.). pp. 103, 22—104, 5, see Theoph. A. M. 6190, 6187. pp. 104, 5—11 = Theoph. A. M. 6197.

At this point the series of notices derived from Theophanes is interrupted by a passage on the conquest of Spain pp. 104, 11—105, 2. The statement, previously made in *g* as to the arrival of Abd ar-Rahman is repeated, and a notice of the conquest of Crete in the reign of Michael II is added.

P. 105, 3 = Th. 6207; 105, 4 = Th. 6208; 105, 7 = Th. 6209; 105, 8 = Th. 6212; 105, 10 = Th. 6216; [Valid is omitted between Isam and Marwan, Th. 6234]; 105, 11 = Th. 6235; 105, 12 = Th. 6241; 105, 14 = Th. 6267; [Musa is omitted before Harun, Th. 6276]; 105, 15 = Th. 6278.

The next sentence is incomplete:

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἤρουν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς Εἰρήνης καὶ Κωνσταντος, ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ,ςππῆ' [6288]. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἀραβῶν — τέθνηκεν κτλ.

The death of Harun fell in the reign of Nicephorus, in A. M. 6301 (ςτα'), see Theoph. Therefore a passage must have fallen out of the text in which were recorded events belonging to the years A. M. 6288 and 6301. It cannot be insignificant that not only is the A. M. given (the only case in this series of records), but it is related to the Imperial sovereigns. This suggests at once that the event recorded had to do with Roman and not with Saracenic history. Now if we turn up Theophanes under the two years in question we find that in both there are notices relating to the same event. In A. M. 6288 Constantine VI married Theodote, and the abbot Plato broke off communion with the Patriarch Tarasios; in 6301 Theodore, Plato, and the Studites broke off communion with the Patriarch Nicephorus διὰ Ἰωσήφ ὡς παρανόμως στεφανώσαντα Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Θεοδότην. This coincidence suggests the inference that a notice of this affair originally stood in the text and has been omitted.

The rest of the text, to 106, 12 is transcribed from Th. A. M. 6301. Then follows a formal statement that the preceding canon of the succession of caliphs is taken from Theophanes, who is described as the *μυτρώθειος* of Constantine VII.

But we have not yet quite done either with the Saracens or with Theophanes.

*l* = pp. 106, 22—110, 5 (cc. 23, 24), on Spain, and the names Iberia and Hispania (citations from Charax, Athenaeus, Parthenios &c).

*m* = pp. 110, 8—113, 5 (c. 25), the occupation of Spain by the Vandals and Visigoths. A transcript from Theophanes. It is introduced abruptly, beginning *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει*, without any indication as to what year is meant. There was a marginal note (title of c. 25) *ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ δσίου Θεοφάνους τῆς Συγγριανῆς*.

*n* = pp. 113, 6—114, 16 (c. 25), the Saracen *ἀμερουνεῖς* (caliphs) and *ἀμηραι*.

It is obvious from the preceding analysis that the portion of the work relating to the Saracen powers (cc. 14—25) was not composed continuously or according to a single plan. It presents, as we have seen, the clearest traces of patchwork. Not to speak of repetitions, some of which might be explained as due to carelessness or inadvertence, there are two distinct and independent accounts of Moāwiya; and the section *i* intervenes between *h* and *k*, which closely belong to one another, in such a way as to render the beginning of *k* unintelligible.

It is also remarkable that in the account of Spain (*l* + *m*) there is no mention of its conquest by the Saracens. We should expect to find here the notices of it which appear in *g* and *k*.

Mere literary awkwardness (although it is a factor) is insufficient to explain this extraordinary arrangement. It can only be explained as the result of the method by which the material was prepared; in fact, it gives us a glimpse into Constantine's literary workshop. We are driven to forming a hypothesis of the following kind.

The material which Constantine had, in the first place collected for the Saracen section of his treatise consisted of *a*, *b*, *i* and *n*. This first series is disconnected and independent, and is homogenous in character with the rest of the work (e. g. in the absence of any formal chronology). Subsequently the Emperor conceived the idea of introducing a brief chronicle of the caliphs. This idea was suggested by his interest in the Chronography of his *μυτρώθειος* Theophanes; he does not carry the succession down beyond the beginning of the



ninth century where Theophanes comes to an end. Accordingly he compiled, or directed a secretary to compile, a second series of notices, chronological in form, and transcribed or abridged from the work of Theophanes. This second series consists of *d, e, f, h, k*.<sup>1)</sup> But Theophanes omitted to record the Hijra<sup>2)</sup>, and this omission was repaired by prefixing *c*, derived *ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος ὃν ἐθεμάτισεν Στέφανος ὁ μαθηματικός*.<sup>3)</sup> The Annus Mundi in this notice was in the Constantinopolitan reckoning; and the compiler has sought to facilitate, as it were, the juncture between *c* and *d* by explaining the *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει*, with which the Theophanes-extract in *d* begins, in terms of the same era: *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἡγουν, 5938'* (p. 93, 14). Theophanes himself would have described it as *5938'*.

The compiler had now to combine series 2 with series 1. This was done in a purely mechanical fashion, and badly at that, without any attempt at working the two sets of material into an ordered whole. There were two places at which the two series concurred; the notices of Abubekr and the doctrines of Islam in *a* and *d*; and the accounts of Moāwiya in *i* and *f*. The compiler ignored the former collision entirely. He took account of the latter only from a chronological point of view, namely so far as to see that it would be unsuitable for *i* to precede *a—e*. But instead of placing *i* either immediately before *f* or immediately before *h*, he inserted it, most stupidly and awkwardly, after *h*. The general principle which the compiler followed was to insert the chronological history, derived from Theophanes, between *ab* which treated *περὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἐθνῶν* and *n* which explained the contemporary condition of the Saracen states. The only problem which he considered was how to deal with *i*, which belonged to the chronological history, and he solved it with a striking want of dexterity.

But there was yet a third series of notices pertaining to Spain: *l* (geographical), *m* (Visigothic conquest, from Theophanes), *g + k\** (Saracen conquest).<sup>4)</sup> The obvious thing to do was to place this series after the general history of the Caliphate, and accordingly the compiler has done so in the case of *l* and *m*. It would have been much better if he had been content to allow *g + k\** to follow *m*, for it is *g + k\** which justifies and explains the insertion of *lm* between *k* and *n*.

1) But perhaps *f* belonged to series 1: see below § 6.

2) Two of the inferior Mss. of Theophanes add at the end of A. M. 6113 (De Boor p. 306), *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Μάμεδ ἐπάνη ἀμνησέας ἔτη θ'*.

3) I will return to this notice below.

4) *k\** = portion of *k* relating to conquest of Spain.

But he preferred to introduce  $g + k^*$  into the context of the chronological history. His object in doing so was twofold: to bring the Spanish Omayyads into direct connexion with Moāwiya and to emphasize the right chronology. Hence he inserted  $g$  in the (Theophanes) account of Moāwiya, and  $k^*$  in the notice of the reign of Justinian II.

In stating such a precise hypothesis I may seem to push the limits of enquiry too far, and I am fully conscious that there is a line beyond which it is vain to seek to penetrate into the secrets of a literary *officina*. My intention has only been to illustrate the general proposition (which I consider that I have proved) that a *hypothesis of this kind* is necessary to explain the text of cc. 14—25.

The hypothesis is compatible either with the supposition that there were two redactions of the treatise as a whole, that in the first redaction the Saracen portion consisted of *abin* (series 1), and that the conflation with series 2 (+ series 3) was made for the second redaction; or with the supposition that there was only one redaction (not earlier than A. D. 952) and that the patchwork belongs entirely to the original process of preparation. The second supposition seems to me to be the one which we must accept. I can find no evidence whatever to *necessitate* the view that there were two redactions of the treatise as a whole; and I will afterwards give reasons for believing that the work was never completed. On the other hand, we can see that the nature of the work implied a collecting of miscellaneous material extending over some years, and we can understand how the idea of the contents may have grown in the Emperor's mind. In planning Section 3 of his treatise he may at first have contemplated almost entirely information derived orally from contemporaries, and the extracts from older, literary sources may have been due to an afterthought.

To avoid an interruption of the argument I postponed the consideration of the *θεμάτιον* of Stephanos, which has some historical interest for the tenth century. Before this century we hear nothing of Stephanos of Alexandria or his horoscope of the Saracens; this notice in Adm. is the earliest. The import of his horoscope was that Sept. 3, Thursday, was a day fraught with fate for the Saracen empire. Constantine says nothing as to an anticipated fulfilment of the presage; he refers to it only in connexion with the astrologer's date of the exodus. But in the chronicles of Leo Grammaticus (or rather Pseudo-Leo) and George Cedrenus<sup>1</sup>) we can discover why his attention was

1) Leo, p. 152, Cedr. I 717. It may be asserted that Pseudo-Leo presents the *original* prediction of Stephanos, as preserved in a seventh century chronicle.

drawn to the *κανών* and *θεμάτιον* of Stephanos. In both these works the horoscope is interpreted. The power of the Saracens is to last 309 years. But before it is extinguished there is to be a period of *ἀνατασσία* and misfortune. As to the length, however, of this second period the two chronicles differ. In Pseudo-Leo it is determined as 27 years, thus giving a total duration of 336 years to the Saracen empire; in Cedrenus it is determined as 56, giving a total of 365. We are thus in presence of the interesting fact that in the tenth century prophecies were current of an approaching dissolution of the Saracen empire, and that as the fatal year passed without fulfilment a new term was substituted.

But the period of prosperity remained a fixed quantity, 309 years; in other words, when the horoscope of Stephanos was resuscitated, the year 931 ( $622 + 309$ ) was past, and the year 958 ( $931 + 27$ ) had not yet come. But what determined the year 931 and the period 309? There was no collapse or sign of collapse in the events of that year; on the contrary, the Saracens achieved greater successes than the Romans.<sup>1)</sup> The reason lies in the nature of the horoscope. The fatal day was to be Sept. 3, but it was also to be Thursday. In A. D. 622 Sept. 3 fell on Wednesday, in A. D. 623 on Thursday. The number 308 is a multiple of the cycle 28 (in which the procession of correspondences between weekdays and monthdays recurs); hence 931, the 308<sup>th</sup> year from 623, was fixed on, as not only distinguished by the fatal Thursday = Sept. 3, but as cyclically corresponding. The next year of the same description was 959; we must infer that this form of the *θεμάτιον* originated in the interval. But the period of adversity ends in 958, not as we might expect in 959. The total number of 336 years ( $= 28 \times 12$ ) is calculated here from 622, not from 623.<sup>2)</sup> In 958 Sept. 3 fell on Wednesday, as in the year of the exodus. Perhaps students of astrology will be able to explain the reason of this difference. But it is clear that in the reign of Constantine, between 931 and 958, superstitious Romans congratulated themselves that the rival power had just passed its zenith and was

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But unless astrological students can show that it would have been *according to rule* to fix on 308 ( $= 28 \times 11$ ) years, there would be no probability in such a view.

1) Cp. Vasiljev, *Vizantiia i Araby, za vremia makedonskoi dinastii* 232 sqq.

2) The text of Adm. implies, but does not make clear, the distinction of the dates of the exodus and the horoscope: "The Saracens went forth Sept. 3, A. M. 6180 ( $= 622$  A. D.), but their horoscope was drawn Sept. 3, Thursday (sc. A. M. 6181)". So Cedrenus gives the A. M. of the horoscope as *σελα'*. The text of Pseudo-Leo has *σελ'*, but *α* has probably fallen out before *ἀπό*.

destined to complete collapse within their own lifetimes. The reference to the *θεμάτιον* in this treatise, before 953 as we may assume, illustrates the fact that it was then talked about, though the Emperor does not condescend to particularize the tenor of the prophecy.

The fatal year, 958, came and passed, and men's hopes were disappointed. But such prophecies have a phoenix existence; they are falsified and renewed. The brilliant victories of Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisce supplied a good argument for a new edition of the horoscope. The period of prosperity was not altered, but the period of adversity was lengthened from 27 to 56 years, thus postponing the date to 987 A. D. Here again the 28 cycle is the determining factor. But in this case the calculation is from 623, and Sept. 3 falls in 987 on Thursday.  $987 = 623 + 364 (= 28 \times 13)$ . This horoscope had the additional recommendation that the whole period from 622 amounted to 365 years, the number of days in the year, — a point to which attention is called in Cedrenus, with reference to the Kedar prophecy of Isaiah (XXI 16).

We can be quite sure that the *θεμάτιον* of Stephanos was mentioned in a chronicle older than the tenth century. The very existence of the notice in the late chroniclers guarantees such an origin. And if so, there can be hardly much doubt that it comes from the lost, or one of the lost chronicles which served as a source of Theophanes for the seventh century. But in copying the record, two 10<sup>th</sup> century chronographers altered the original prophecy into the versions of it which were current respectively when they wrote. Pseudo-Leo (Cod. Par. 854) reproduces a chronicle which must have been originally written close to 958 (probably before it, for after it the chronicler would hardly have altered the text of the document which he copied). Cedrenus reproduces apparently a later redaction of the same chronicle, made before 987 and containing the version of the horoscope which was current in the early years of Basil II. But the redactor added a remark *suo Marte*. *λείπει οὖν ἕως τῆς —, εἰν ἄρα καλῶς ἐθεμάτισεν ὁ ἀστρονόμος Στέφανος· ἀλλ' ὡς οἶμαι λεπτόν παχὺν ἔλαθεν ἐκείνον*. There is an unfortunate lacuna after *τῆς*<sup>1)</sup>, but it is clear that the author of this observation wrote before 987, and did not himself alter the text of his source. In the history of this chronography there were therefore at least three stages before A. D. 987: (a) the text

1) *συμπληρώσεως* has been rightly supplied by Patzig, who has used the *θεμάτιον* passages of Pseudo-Leo and Cedrenus for the theory propounded in his article: *Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe*, B. Z. III (1894) 495—6.

reproduced by Pseudo-Leo, written in the neighbourhood of 958, (b) the text in which the *θεμάτιον* was altered, (c) the text written by a sceptic, not long before 987, and reproduced by George Cedrenus.

It is clear that we come here into close quarters with the question which revolves round the mysterious chronicler whom one is tempted to call "der ewige Logothet". Some thought that he had been run to earth when Vasilievski announced the identity 'ot nachala do kontsa' of the Bulgarian translation which professes to be the work of Symeon metaphrastes et logothetes with the chronicle of Leo Grammaticus.<sup>1)</sup> This solution became untenable when it was shown that the anonymous chronicle of Cod. Par. 854 is not the work of Leo, since the latter part of it is far from being identical with the *χρονογραφία τῶν νέων βασιλέων* contained in Cod. Par. 1711 under Leo's name.<sup>2)</sup> The anonymous of Cod. Par. 854 was then entered for the place which Leo was forced to vacate, but in another and authoritative quarter Theodosius of Melitene<sup>3)</sup> has been considered a more likely candidate.<sup>4)</sup> The real truth probably is that the original work of the Logothete has not been preserved at all in a perfectly pure and uncontaminated form. But I am not going to enter into the question. There are only two points I wish to emphasize. The name of the Logothete, the original part of whose work was the history *τῶν νέων βασιλέων*, was certainly Symeon. This is proved, not I think necessarily by the superscriptions in the Mss. which might have been due to a confusion with the contemporary (but not demonstrably identical) Symeon Metaphrastes, but by the epitaph of Symeon the Logothete on the death of Stephanos son of Romanus I, preserved in Cod. Par. 1277 and published by Vasilievski.<sup>5)</sup> Here the name is quite independent of the chronicles, and no one can doubt that the sympathetic author is

1) Khronik Logotheta na slavianskom i grecheskom, Viz. Vrem. 2 (1892), 120.

2) Shestakov, Parizhskaia rukopis khroniki Simeona Logotheta, Viz. Vrem. 4 (1897), 167—88.

3) As to his date, let me call attention to a notice (which might pass unobserved) unearthed by Vasilievski (ib. 135 n. 3) from Becker's *Anecdota Graeca* III 1465, which points to A. D. 1120 as a lower limit. — Whatever be the relations of Leo, Theodosius &c, it is at least certain that our particular Ms. of Leo, Par. 1711, is inferior for the later part of the Logothete's work to that of Theodosius. A good illustration is its omission of the passage *ἀρετῆς γὰρ εἰς ἄκρον — ταπεινὸν δὲ τὸ φρόνημα*, a characterisation of Romanus I which is unmistakably from the pen of the Logothete. This is not one of the numerous cases of *ex homoeoteleuto*.

4) See De Boor, *Weiteres zur Chronik des Logotheten*, B. Z. X (1901), 89.

5) Viz. Vrem. 3 (1896), 574—8.

the same as the historian who has shown so undisguisedly his devotion to Romanus Lecapenus. Stephanos died in 963, just after the accession of Nicephorus Phocas.<sup>1)</sup> According to the ordinary view, it was at the beginning of this reign that Symeon wrote or completed his chronicle. But if so, it is almost inconceivable that he should not have referred to the death of Stephanos. We find at the close of his chronicle references to other events which happened after the accession of Nicephorus. The only explanation can be that he intended to continue his chronicle to a later date than 948, as indeed is implied in one passage; unless we accept Vasilievski's theory that the short portion on the *αὐτοκρατορία* of Constantine between 944 and 948 is not from his hand, but an addition made by Leo Grammaticus.<sup>2)</sup> Vasilievski based this view on (1) the circumstance that this portion is absent in the Bulgarian version, where the notice of the death of Romanus immediately follows the account of his deposition, and (2) on the expression *πληρωθεῖσα παρὰ Λέοντος γραμματικοῦ* in Cod. Par. 1711. It is unfortunate that Vasilievski has not told us whether the Bulgarian version also omits the notice of the duration of Constantine's whole reign<sup>3)</sup>, which must have been written after his death. I am not fully convinced, but in any case — and here I come to my second point — there is nothing to prevent our holding that the chronicle as a whole was written during the last ten years of the reign of Constantine. Its tendency would have rendered it impossible to make it public while he was alive, and a similar respect might have made the author keep it back during the reign of Romanus II. Then he might have made one or two additions shortly after the accession of Nicephorus and given it to the world in 963 before the death of Stephanos. This is conjecture, but what I would illustrate is that, whatever view we hold as to the close of the chronicle of Symeon, it is open to us to consider probable that its earlier portion was written before 958, and that the *θεμάτιον*, as it appears in Cod. Par. 854 (Pseudo-Leo), stood in the author's original work.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) Cedrenus II 346, Zonaras III 482, 495.

2) Viz. Vrem. 2, 183 (cp. 99) and 4, 576.

3) Cont. Georg. 874 (ed. Bonn) = Leo Gramm. 288. Vasilievski ought to have added that, on his theory, Leo must have copied his addition straight from Cont. Theoph., and thus the words *ἐν τῇ προηγουμένῃ* (sic leg.) *ἐξηγήσει ἐκδήσομαι* (Leo 329) would be due to the author of Cont. Theoph. Bk. VI, in which work the promise (436) is fulfilled (438).

4) I am curious to know whether the *θεμάτιον* appears in the Bulgarian translation, and if so, in what form. Though Vasilievski asserted unreservedly

§ 6. Attention was drawn above to the formula *ιστέον ὅτι* or *ὅτι* by which the notices in Adm. are regularly introduced. The exceptions are as follows. (1) Section 2, where the formula is inappropriate as the section consists of direct admonitions to Romanus. (2) It is not used at the beginning of the main divisions: Sect. 1, p. 68; Sect. 3, A p. 90, B p. 182, C p. 214. Sect. A p. 216 is the exception. (3) Extracts and citations: Stephanus, p. 93; the Theophanes passages, pp. 93—106 (one exception, p. 96), and p. 110; the collection of citations on Spain pp. 106—110; extract from the acts of the Trullan synod, p. 215. Here too comes the list of horses supplied by the Peloponnesus, p. 243, 13—244, 2, obviously copied from an official report. (It is awkwardly separated from the preceding notice, to which it belongs, by a capitular division.) (4) The paragraph beginning *πρώτη ἡ παρὰ τῶν Χαζάρων* is only an apparent case, for it belongs closely to what goes before, from which it has been improperly disjoined by the introduction of *κεφάλαιον μ'*. There are three other cases: the *διήγησις περὶ τοῦ θέματος Δελματίας* (c. 30) which has already been discussed; the account of the repulse of the Slavs from Patrae (c. 49); and the story of Cherson (c. 53). But the two last narratives, concerning long past events, are not original compositions of Constantine but extracts from older works.<sup>1)</sup> They would thus come under the category of (3). The Dalmatian chapter is of a different nature, but we have seen that it was "a subsequent insertion" not contemplated in the compilation of cc. 29 and 31.

In view of these facts, it seems almost justifiable to infer that according to the original plan all the notices which were "pigeon-holed" for use in the treatise were prefaced by the formula *ιστέον ὅτι* (*ὅτι*), with the exception of the cases noted in (1) and (2). All this material had been arranged in its proper order, when the Emperor decided to introduce other matter, consisting mainly of extracts from books. These insertions can be distinguished by the absence of the usual formula.<sup>2)</sup>

There are two exceptions, which perhaps may be said to prove the rule. (1) One passage from Theophanes in the Saracen portion is prefaced by *ιστέον ὅτι*. I assumed above, naturally, that this passage (f) belonged to the rest of the Theophanes series, but, in

its identity with Pseudo-Leo, I infer from an observation of his own *Viz. Vrem.* 2, 120, that his collation of the two texts was very far from complete.

1) For the Cherson narrative see Garnett, *Eng. Hist. Review* 12 (1897), 100—5. For the attack on Patrae see below § 15.

2) *ιστέον ὅτι* is also significant in the *De Cerimoniis*, as I will show elsewhere.

view of what has just been said, it seems possible that *f* should be separated from series 2 and placed in series 1. The original series which included an extract (*a*) from George Monachus may have included also an extract from Theophanes. (2) The notice of the invention of Greek fire by Callinicus of Heliopolis, with which Section 4 opens (p. 216) is taken from Theophanes<sup>1</sup>), *πῦρ θαλάσσιον* being replaced by *τὸ διὰ τῶν σιφώνων ἐκφερόμενον πῦρ*. (In Section 2 the legend that the secret of this explosive was revealed to Constantine the Great by an angel is related, — a legend invented for the purpose of investing the secret with sacrosanctity. Constantine VII was perhaps conscious of the inconsistency, for while he adopts *κατεσκεύασεν* “manufactured” from Theophanes, he omits the chronicler’s addition *καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι — τὸ θαλάσσιον πῦρ εὗρον*.)

§ 7. The collection of material seems to have extended over at least three or four years (between 948—952). The portions which are most valuable for us (on the Russians, Hungarians, Patzinaks, Dalmatia &c) are those which were derived mainly, if not wholly, from oral sources. It would be very interesting to know how and in what circumstances all these items of information were taken down. We are here in contact with what may be called the intelligence bureau of the Byzantine government. Since the days of Justinian<sup>2</sup>) it was one of the principles of that government to collect all the information it could obtain concerning the social and political condition and relations of the surrounding barbarian states, for the practical purpose of guiding its own diplomacy. The opportunities for collecting such information were supplied by the embassies which went and came. We may conjecture that the accounts of Constantine (e. g. of Russian commerce) depend not directly on the communications of merchants or travellers, but on the reports of Roman ambassadors or on enquiries made from foreign envoys. Reports of embassies were almost an institution; and if Priscus wrote his famous description of the mission to Attila in the capacity of a historian rather than as a member of the embassy, the relation which Peter the Patrician drew up of his mission to Chosroes was undoubtedly official, in the first

1) A. M. 6165, De B. p. 354. The same notice occurs in (Pseudo-) Leo Gramm. 160 — Cedrenus I 765 = Mosquensis 406 (Muralt) p. 613. But is it there derived from Theophanes? The addition of *ἀεχθήσει* makes me suspect that it was taken directly from the lost chronicle which was the chief source of Theophanes for the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

2) See Diehl’s excellent chapter, *L’œuvre diplomatique*, in his *Justinien* (1901).



instance, though he was permitted, or directed, to publish it as a sort of semi-official "bluebook". Its official character can be inferred from the fact that it was written *not in the literary but in the spoken language*<sup>1)</sup>, a fact which we ought to place side by side with Constantine's use of the vulgar tongue in the *De administrando imperio*. Menander's account of the embassy to the Turks in the reign of Justin II was doubtless based on an official report of Zëmarchos. Here<sup>2)</sup>, as in so much else, the Venetian republic learned from her former mistress; the famous *Relationi* of her ambassadors must have been originally suggested by the East-Roman practice.

It would seem however that these official records of the Foreign Office at Constantinople were not preserved throughout with sufficient care. Constantine VII, who took as much interest as Justinian himself in the diplomatic management of the "barbarians", caused the well-known *ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρεσβειῶν* to be compiled, containing in its two sections historical accounts of the embassies of foreign peoples (*ἐθνικοί*) to the Romans and of the Romans to foreign peoples.<sup>3)</sup> But it consists of extracts not from official records but from historical writers. Peter's embassy to Chosroes in A. D. 562 is described, not from his own report, but from Menander. Can we avoid the conclusion that many records of the sixth century had been destroyed through carelessness, or perhaps by the accidents of fire?

But many of the notices which make Constantine's work so valuable were gathered in the tenth century in Constantine's own lifetime, — some of them, we may probably conjecture, for the purpose of being included in this treatise. It must be remembered that such information, before it reached the Emperor or his collaborators, had passed through the medium of interpreters — a fact which may explain some errors. An interpreter was a necessary adjunct to the staff of a Roman embassy, and there was a regular corps of *ἐρμηνευταί* at Constantinople, one of the seven *εἰδη ἀξιωματῶν* which in the 10<sup>th</sup> century were under the command of the *λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου*.<sup>4)</sup> Two interpreters for Armenian are mentioned in our treatise.<sup>5)</sup>

1) Menander, 12 (F. H. G. IV 217). He emphasizes the fulness of detail in Peter's account (ad fin., p. 218).

2) Liutprand's history of his mission to Nicephorus is a formal *Relatio* to the Ottos. Byzantine influence is evident.

3) Critically edited by De Boor as vol. I of Constantine's *Excerpta historica*.

4) *De cerimoniis*, II 52 p. 718.

5) *Adm. c.* 43, p. 184 *Θεοδώρου τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐρμηνευτοῦ*, p. 190 *Κρίνιτην ἐρμηνέα*.

Arabic interpreters were in constant requisition<sup>1</sup>); and for communication with the princes of the west not only were Latin interpreters required<sup>2</sup>), but men who could draft imperial letters in Latin.<sup>3</sup>) For Slavonic there was no difficulty; it was easy to get from Macedonia or Bulgaria men who could with little trouble understand the language spoken at Kiev. Negotiations with the Russians<sup>4</sup>) were, we may presume, from the very beginning conducted in Slavonic and not in Norse; and it may be observed that, taking Thomsen's analysis of the names of the rapids of the Dniepr, the Slavonic are on the whole less seriously corrupted than the Norse, and the Greek interpretations seem to be intended as translations of the Slavonic names.<sup>5</sup>)

In the time of Constantine, it may be legitimately conjectured that for political intercourse with the long-established kingdom of the Khazars, which had given two Empresses to Byzantium (though the memory of the Iconoclast's consort does not incline Constantine VII to treat it with indulgence), there were interpreters for its own language; there would have been no difficulty in obtaining a supply of suitable persons from Cherson, where it is recorded that the missionary Constantine (Cyril) studied the Khazaric tongue.<sup>6</sup>) But what about the newer comers, such as the Patzinaks and Hungarians? Did the Logothete of the Course add to his staff interpreters for their languages? Considering the importance of the relations of the Empire with these peoples in the time of Constantine, it is difficult to see how special interpreters could have been dispensed with. In this

1) The successors of the *ἐρμηνευταί* for Persian, who are mentioned in the document from Justinian's reign (by Peter? cp. Krumbacher, *G. B. L.*<sup>2</sup>, 239) preserved in the *De cer.* II c. 89 p. 404, 18.

2) Anna, Alex. X 11 (p. 94 ed. Reifferscheid) *ἕνα τῶν τὴν Λατινικὴν διάλεκτον μετερμηνεύοντων*.

3) E. g. the famous communication of Michael II to Lewis the Pious; or the letters of Alexius I to the abbots of Monte Cassino, edited by Trinchera, *Syll. membranarum graecarum* (1865) nn. 61, 62, 66, 86.

4) For the negotiation of the treaties of 911 and 945 (the first of which, he wishes to prove, was only ratified by the second) see Dimitriu, *K voprosu o dogovorakh Russkikh s Grekami*, *Viz. Vrem.* 2, 539 sqq.

5) In the case of the first fall it is stated that both names have the same meaning (p. 75, 19). In the case of the fourth (whether Thomsen is right or not in explaining *Νεασις* as originally meaning "the insatiable"), it seems certain that the explanation *διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκᾶνοι* (p. 76, 20) refers to the (assumed) meaning of the Slavonic name. Compare also the sixth (p. 77, 13): *Σκλαβινισὶ δὲ Βερούτζη, ὃ ἐστὶ βράσμα νεροῦ* (cp. *Врѣтѣ*), where Thomsen interprets the Norse name *Λεάντι* as "laughing" (*hlæjandi*).

6) *Translatio Clementis* c. 6.

connexion, I would point out as remarkable that we find the laws or customs of the Patzinaks called τὰ ζάκωνα αὐτῶν (p. 73, 20). In the same way, the Hungarians, in raising their newly elected chieftain on a shield, are said to follow τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων ἔθος καὶ ζάκωνον (p. 170, 15: this is of course derived from a Hungarian, not a Khazaric source). In both cases νόμος would be appropriate; why is the Slavonic word (законъ) employed? Again, the chiefs of the Hungarians are called by the Slavonic appellation of βοέβοδοι (pp. 168—9 passim).<sup>1)</sup> If Constantine's notices were derived from Patzinaks and Hungarians through Patzinak-Greek and Hungarian-Greek interpreters, why does the Slavonic come in? My first thought was that they pointed to the inference that Slavs were employed for interpreting these languages. But this supposition is obviously insufficient. For such interpreters would have been able to express such simple terms in Greek without resorting to their own tongue. The truth, I suspect, may be that among these peoples, who were in constant intercourse with their neighbours the Bulgarians and the Eastern Slavs, the Slavonic language was a sort of lingua franca, so far at least as that a certain number of Slavonic words passed current among the non-Slavonic peoples of the Danube and Dniepr regions. In converse with foreigners, Patzinaks and Hungarians would be apt to use such words (even in talking their own tongues to an interpreter), and this would explain their appearance in the treatise of Constantine.<sup>2)</sup>

We might expect to find that the Emperor had sought information about "Scythia" directly or indirectly from the Khazars with whom the Empire was on very good terms; he could have got information from them, for instance, about Black Bulgaria. But not only do there seem to be no traces of Khazaric sources, but there is no description

1) Since the text was written, I see that Marczali refers to this fact (*A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi*, p. 98) as having been noticed by Szabó, and rightly observes that it does not imply Slavonic sources. But I cannot agree that it is explained by saying that "a byzanci nyelv már akkor telítve volt szláv elemekkel"; for why then do we find these words only in this particular context? We must deprecate any revival of the view that Constantine belonged to a dynasty of Slavonic origin ("tán szláv származású"); Basil I was of Armenian descent.

2) On the same principle that in translating, say, a Modern Greek official document into German, any French terms which occurred in the original would be retained untranslated. — In regard to the use of βοέβοδος, it is to be observed that a distinction is intended between the pre-Arpadian Chiefs (βοέβοδοι) and the post-Arpadian rulers (ἄρχοντες). ἄρχων was the title used in official communications (*De Cerim.* II 48, p. 691).

of Khazaria itself, an omission which is distinctly remarkable. The references to the Khazars in Sect. 3 are all incidental.<sup>1)</sup>

The communications between Constantinople and vassals of the Empire, like Venice, must have been frequent; with Iberia, in the reign of Constantine, they seem to have been unintermittent. Rambaud remarks:

“Pour l’Arménie comme pour le Caucase, Constantine VII, dans sa studieuse retraite du Grand Palais, était en fort bonne situation pour être bien informé des affaires importantes. Ces renseignements, il put les demander à d’innombrables émigrés, bannis, aventuriers arméniens qui fuyaient devant les persécutions musulmanes ou cherchaient fortune sur les terres de l’Empire.”<sup>2)</sup>

Without questioning the possibility that recourse may have been had to such informants, it seems probable, as I have already said, that the sources were in the main of a more official kind.<sup>3)</sup> Rambaud properly refers to the visits of Armenian princes to Constantinople during the reigns of Romanus and Constantine, and to the Byzantine agents who were kept permanently in the Armenian states.<sup>4)</sup>

In examining Constantine’s sources of information, we have mainly to consider Section 3. In Sections 1 und 2 the author is expounding diplomatic principles, and almost the only passage which calls for comment is the description of the Russian trade-route to Constantinople, which is out of place where it is, and ought to have been inserted in Sect. 3. All that we can say about it is that the information may well have been derived either from Igor’s envoys who came to Constantinople to negotiate a treaty in 944, or collected by the envoys of Constantine who returned with them to Kiev to con-

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1) It may be mentioned here that Westberg (op. cit. 134) explains *Σαββαράς* which Constantine gives as a name of Kiev (75) as = Sabbath, and conjectures Jewish-Khazaric influence. The same name was given to the river Don. — It may be noted that *Νεμολαρχιάς* in the same passage of Constantine is obviously a textual corruption of *Νεβολαρχιάς* (“legendum Novogardia”, Banduri) due to the facility of confusing β and μ in tenth century Mss.

2) *L’Empire grec*, p. 495.

3) The section on Adranutzin (c. 46) is of course based entirely on strictly official information. Two reports, *ἀναφοραί*, of the Patrician Constans, are mentioned p. 211, and the Imperial instructions are quoted (p. 209, 4—14). So in c. 45 chrysobulls of Romanus and Constantine himself. These chapters are chiefly devoted to the history of Constantine’s own time. It is clear that in 951—2 he was very much occupied with the Armenian question.

4) *Ib.* 496.

clude it.<sup>1)</sup> Nor does Section 4, dealing chiefly with administrative arrangements of the author's time and his father's, present material that comes within our present scope. Here the Emperor had abundance of official data; the horse-levy of the Peloponnesus is copied straight from an official document (p. 243). The notices of Cherson and the Slavonic attack on Patrae are exceptions (see above § 6, below § 15).<sup>2)</sup>

The question of sources then is limited with few exceptions to Section 3. The first portion of this, relating to the Saracens, I have already sufficiently considered; and of the last portion, relating to the Armenian principalities, I have no more to say for my present purpose than what I have just said. I will now proceed to examine the Italian, South-Slavonic, and "Scythian" records, only considering historical questions so far as may be necessary in order to throw light upon the sources.

§ 8. The section on southern Italy (c. 27) seems to be based on informal inquiries made from Lombards, whose historical knowledge was inaccurate. One notices in this chapter the prominence which is given to Capua. It is exalted, in a certain way, among all the states of southern Italy. *πρῶτον δὲ κάστρον ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχαῖον καὶ μέγα ἢ Κάπυα* (p. 120, 20); Naples, Beneventum, Gaeta, Amalfi are enumerated after it without description. Again it is described as *πόλις ὑπερμεγέθης* (p. 121, 9), and the foundation of New Capua by Landolf is recorded. This points to Capuan informants, and it has been suggested that the information was gathered on the occasion of the embassy of Landolf who was sent to Constantinople by his father Atenolf, prince of Capua, in A. D. 909.<sup>3)</sup> In that case, the historical notices supplied by Landolf and his staff must have been registered at the time; and, when Constantine compiled this portion of his work in 948—9, he would have brought the chronological data into relation with the year in which he wrote.

1) *Chronicon Nestoris*, A. M. 6453 ed. Miklosich pp. 25, 29. The negotiations began before the deposition of Romanus who sent the first embassy. Cp. Dimitriu, op. cit. 545—9.

2) The notice of the Ezerites and Milingi (c. 50) is based partly on a chrysobull of Romanus I (223, 24) and an *ἀναφορά* of the strategos Johannes (222, 7). I suspect that the reference to the local *φῆμη* of these tribes (221, 21) was recorded in the *ἀναφορά*. The acts of Krinites and Bardas must have been within the Emperor's memory; but his reference to the months of March and November (without mention of the year, p. 222) shows, I think, that he had a report of the acts of Krinites before him.

3) Cp. Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin* (1904) 170 note.

Plausible though this conjecture may seem, I cannot consider it certain. It is stated (121, 15) that New Capua was founded "73 years ago". The true date is c. 856, and Banduri thence concluded<sup>1)</sup> that the notice was written down in 929. If this were so, we should have to assume that the notice was copied in 949, without alteration of the no longer applicable date. If the other false date which appears in this chapter could be set right by referring it to 929, we could hardly escape from admitting Banduri's conclusion. It is stated that the division of Beneventum and Salerno was made 200 years before 948—9. This is exactly one hundred years out, and would have been even further from the truth in 929. Thus the key which would solve one difficulty fails for the other. 909 solves neither. The fact that the error as to the division of Beneventum and Salerno is *exactly* of 100 years, certainly suggests that 200 is an inadvertence for 100, and that not only was the passage written, but the information also received, in 948—9. I confess that in any case it seems to me highly probable that these records reached Constantine at that time from a Capuan source. This would not necessarily imply a Capuan informant at Constantinople. The information may have been gathered in Italy, and possibly in transmission the chronological errors might have arisen. His source is of course responsible for ascribing the partition of the Lombard duchies to Sicon and Sicard, who were dead at the time, instead of to Sikenolf and Radelchis.<sup>2)</sup>

There is in this chapter a point of considerable interest, the story of Narses and the distaff. Constantine has been reproached here for incredible chronological confusion. The Lombard conquest of Italy is connected with the reign of Irene, and it is she who is said to have sent the distaff and spindle to Narses. But the ridicule which falls upon the Emperor Constantine's pretensions as a historian must be somewhat mitigated when it is recognised that the story, as he tells it, was not a deposit of the reminiscences of his own reading, but was taken down directly from the mouth of a Lombard informant. We may smile at his naïveté in reproducing it gravely without a word of criticism, but the chronology is not his own. The story was evidently current among the *southern* Lombards; Beneventum is represented as the seat of the government of Narses. The legend, in its original form, was also obviously Italian, not Byzantine; our source is

1) P. 333 ed. Bonn. A Lombard embassy, Capuan or other, to Cple in 929 is not likely. For the prince of Capua invaded Apulia in 926 and Capua and Salerno were in open revolt up to 934. Cp. Liutprand, *Legatio*, 7; Gay, *op. cit.* 209.

2) Gay, *op. cit.* 62. Sicon and Sicard are also falsely described as brothers.

Paul, the Lombard historian.<sup>1)</sup> It was based on a motif which has given rise to other anecdotes about historical personages.<sup>2)</sup> It is generally when some event has made a strong impression on popular imagination, that the mythopœic faculty, drawing from the well of folklore, invents stories of this kind. Such an event was the Lombard invasion and conquest of half Italy; and the story of the insulting message of Sophia to Narses and his invitation to the Lombards is a monument of the impression which the disaster made upon the south-Italians. The *south-Italians* I say advisedly; for that it was started in south Italy is suggested not only by the connexion of Narses with Beneventum in the later form of the story, as it is told in Constantine's treatise, but by his connexion with Naples in the original story. On the receipt of Sophia's message he withdraws from Ravenna to Naples: itaque odio metuque exagitatus in Neapolim Campaniae civitatem secedens legatos mox ad Langobardorum gentem dirigit.<sup>3)</sup> The withdrawal to Naples is historical; it comes from the *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>4)</sup> It was here that he was said to have spun the fatal web, and here probably the story was set going.

It was remembered, and told from father to son, in the duchies of Naples and Beneventum; but we have still to consider how it came that the legend was modified in later times by the substitution of the Empress Irene for the Empress Sophia. Popular legend reckons not of chronology; but though it may work blindly, it does not work without motives; and a motive there must have been. The clew for discovering it is given to us by the introduction of Pope Zacharias into Constantine's account: "In the times of the Empress Irene ὁ πατριῖος Ναρσῆς ἐκράτει τὴν Βενεβενδὸν καὶ τὴν Παπίαν καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ πάπας Ἀθηναῖος ἐκράτει τὴν Ῥώμην". It was in the pontificate of Zacharias that the Lombards conquered the Exarchate. That was an event which might well recall the original conquest, of which it might seem the consummation. This new conquest, this new defeat of the Empire by the Lombards, supplied, I believe, the motive for

1) Paulus, II 5. But the earliest source is Fredegarius, III 65 (p. 110 ed. Krusch).

2) Euclithon sent a distaff and wool to Pheretima of Cyrene, Herod. 4, 162; Hormisdas sent his general Varahran *γυναικείας ἐσθῆτας*, Theoph. Sim. 3, 8, 1. See my *Later Roman Empire* II 110, 146. It is remarkable that Sophia, not Justin, sends the emblems; does this point to the conclusion that the origin of this type of story was connected with the matriarchate? — The Emperor Manuel I punished an officer, responsible for the loss of a fortress, by exposing him in public in female attire on an ass's back, Kinnamos I 5.

3) Paulus, ib. 4) LXIII (Ioannes III).

chronologically remodelling, bringing up to date as it were, the old story. In the generation following that which witnessed the fall of the Exarchate, the tale of Narses and Sophia was applied to the event which was in recent memory; but for Sophia was substituted the contemporary Empress whose fame was in all men's mouths — the only Empress of the age whose name was familiar enough for the mythopœic instinct to fasten on. It mattered not at all that at the time of the conquest of the Exarchate, c. 750, she was only an infant at Athens, if she was even born. The name of Narses was kept; there was no one to take his place.

§ 9. There is another passage on south Italian history, which also contains legend, but it appears in another context, namely in connexion with Dalmatia: pp. 130, 15—136, 14 (in c. 29). It deals with the Saracen invaders of southern Italy, the expedition of the Emperor Lewis II, and the recovery of Bari; and its justification as a digression in the account of Dalmatia is that it follows on to the Saracen attacks on the Dalmatian coast and that the Slavs of Dalmatia performed military service for the Greeks in Apulia. It would however be equally, or rather more, in place in the south-Italian section (c. 25).

There are two serious (not to speak of minor) errors in Constantine's narrative. The capture of Bari by the Saracens, which occurred in A. D. 841<sup>1)</sup>, is placed at the beginning of Basil's reign, just after the Saracens were forced to raise the siege of Ragusa; and two distinct sieges of Ragusa are confounded. Ragusa was attacked by the Saracens for the first time in 847—8 A. D., for the second in 866—7 A. D.<sup>2)</sup> It is with the second siege that Constantine is concerned. He names three leaders, the Sultan, Saba, and Kalphûs. Of these, the Sultan Mufareg ibn Salem, was doubtless the leader of the second attack; but the other two, Khalfun and Saba, almost certainly belong to the first attack.<sup>3)</sup> Constantine himself exhibits the falsity of his chronology by stating that after the capture of Bari the Saracens ruled over "all Logubardia for forty years" (130, 18). This

1) See the evidence in Hirsch, *Byz. Studien*, p. 255.

2) Cambridge Sicilian chronicle, ed. Cozza-Luzi, p. 28: *ἔτους στυς' παρελήφθησαν οἱ Ῥογοί — ἰνδ. ια'*, p. 30 *ἔτους στοε' παρεδόθησαν οἱ Ῥογοί τὸ β' ἰνδ. <ι> ε'*. Gay (op. cit. p. 92) seems to contemplate the possibility that the first siege was previous to the capture of Bari, but we cannot set aside the date of the Sicilian annals.

3) Hirsch, *ib.* p. 255; Vasiljev, *Vizantiia i Araby (za vrem. mak. din.)* p. 13, n. Khalfun took part in the capture of Bari in 841, Saba governed Taranto in 840.



number approximates to the truth; it is too large, if the period is reckoned to the recovery of Bari, too small if the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas are taken as the term.

It seems clear enough how the mistake arose. The author found in one source the fall of Bari and the (first) siege of Ragusa, noticed together. Assuming that this was the same siege which was raised on the arrival of Nicetas Ooryphas in A. D. 868, he fell into the further error as to the capture of Bari. The recovery of Bari is told briefly from the Byzantine point of view, with a suppression of the fact that it was Lewis who took possession of it and that it was in the hands of the Beneventans for some time before it passed into the power of the Basileus.

Then follows an account of the subsequent fortunes of Lewis II in south Italy. This is entirely of an anecdotal character, and the hero is the wily Sultan. The story of the Sultan never laughing is a variant (as Banduri pointed out) of the *διήγημα παλαιόν* about the captive of Sesostri which is told in Theophylactus Simocatta.<sup>1)</sup> The actual conduct of Adelchis and his party in excluding Lewis from Beneventum<sup>2)</sup> appears in the story as the effect of a crafty plot of the African. The whole narrative belongs to the same class of popular anecdote as the story of Narses; it was inspired by the interest which was aroused by the captivity of the African chief.

It is interesting to observe, as we observed in the Narses legend, how some historical events have the power of stirring popular imagination to array old stories in a new dress. The Saracen invasion of southern Italy had this power; and the story told by Constantine of the messenger who, captured by the sultan as he was besieging Beneventum, told the truth to the garrison, in spite of his captor's threats, is simply the old story of Sesualdus, the *nutricius* Romualdi, who, according to the Lombard historian, acted in the same way at the siege of Beneventum by the Emperor Constans two hundred years before.<sup>3)</sup> This tale and the Narses legend are both Beneven-

1) VI 11.

2) Gay op. cit. p. 106. The story takes no account of the preceding captivity of Lewis, which inspired a popular Latin poem, printed in Muratori, *Ant. Ital.* II 711, and Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires Latines antérieures au douzième siècle* (1843), 264—6. It seems impossible to explain the mysterious verse '*Exierunt Sado et Saducto, invocabant imperio*' as containing a reference to the Sultan. The Latin sources have no mention of the tale that he instigated the plot. — For other errors in Constantine's narrative see Hirsch, 257—9.

3) Paulus, 5, 8. Hirsch calls attention to the resemblance, p. 259.

tane stories, a fact which is significant for the Lombard origin of Constantine's information. We saw that in the case of the latter and the other records in c. 27, Constantine's source was probably to be traced to Capua rather than to Beneventum itself. It seems significant that in the present case Capua and Beneventum are throughout mentioned as a pair, and Capua always first.<sup>1)</sup> Both c. 27 and c. 29 belong to the same year 948—9. We are probably justified therefore in assuming that they come from the same (a Capuan) source.

The passage under discussion has a special interest for our purpose, because we find a duplicate narrative in Constantine's *Vita Basilii*, and also a partial repetition in the treatise *περὶ θεμάτων*. We shall find a comparison of these three passages instructive.

[Adm. 128, 12—129, 2 = V. Bas. 288, 12—289, 2

„ 129, 2—19 = „ 291, 1—292, 13

„ 130, 1—131, 12 = „ 289, 2—290, 23, 292, 14—294, 2  
= Them. II 61, 12—62, 18

„ 131, 13—136, 10 = „ 294, 3—297, 23].

The account in Them. is short and summary; that in the Vita is of course “stylisiert” and verbally long. These sources show too noteworthy differences (not inconsistencies) from Adm. They both notice that the Ragusan embassy was sent to Michael III, but the envoys on reaching Cple found Basil on the throne. Adm. simply says οἱ Ῥαουσαῖοι ἐδηλοποίησαν Βασιλείῳ, not noticing that it was the moment of Basil's accession. Again while this work gives the exact duration of the siege of Ragusa, 15 months (130, 7), the other two accounts use the same general phrase ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπολιόρκουν ἱκανόν (Them. 61, 17 = Vita 289, 16).<sup>2)</sup>

In the portion which does not appear in Them., it may be noted that the Vita has additional points which are absent in Adm. We learn that the Sultan was a prisoner for *two years*<sup>3)</sup> at Capua (Vita 294, 7); and that the person who told Lewis that he had seen the prisoner laughing produced witnesses of the fact (294, 12). These differences show that the account in Adm. was not copied from the Vita nor vice versa.

The work on the Themes seems to be one of the earliest products of Constantine's literary activity, having been compiled before the end of 944 A. D., as we must infer from the way in which

1) 131, 13, 132, 1, 133, 18, 136, 11.

2) Further Them. and Vita both characterise with praise the general Nicetas; in Adm. only his office is mentioned.

3) The true time is 5 years, cp. Hirsch, p. 259.

Romanus Lecapenus is mentioned.<sup>1)</sup> It follows that the account here was not abbreviated from either Adm. or the Vita, but that all three were independently derived from the same document. There is one point in Them. which brings us into touch with the contemporary historian Genesios. The number of fortresses taken by the Saracens is said to have been 150, and this statement (also in Vita p. 292) is found in Genesios p. 62. The passages are parallel but not identical:

Them. 62: παραλαβόντες πάντα τὰ κάστρα καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Λογγι- βαρδίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα Κα- λαβρίας μέχρι Ρώμης, ὥς εἶναι πάντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πορθηθέντα κάστρα ὅν'.	Gen. 116: δι' ὧν ἐσπέρα πᾶσα καταδεδούλωτο, ἐν πόλεσι τῆς τε Σικελίας ἐτι μὴν καὶ Λογγιβαρδίας πολυαριθμητοῖς ἐπὶ ν' τε καὶ ρ' τοῦ Γαλλεριανοῦ χωρίς.
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There is evidently a connexion here. Chronologically, Genesios might have consulted Them., for Genesios completed his work after 944 as is shown by his dedicatory verses (at the beginning of Book I) in which Constantine is addressed as *αὐτοκράτωρ*<sup>2)</sup>, while Them. as we have seen was composed before the deposition of Romanus. But the addition τοῦ Γαλλεριανοῦ χωρίς excludes this explanation. The solution must be that Genesios derived this record from a communication of the Emperor, at whose bidding (ὡς ἐκέλευσας, προστεταγμένος pp. 3, 4) he undertook his work.

Gallerianon (to digress for a moment) has proved a puzzle. "In den unteritalischen Quellen" says Hirsch<sup>3)</sup> "finde ich einen solchen Namen nicht genannt". But the interpretation is not difficult. Galerianum, I have no doubt, was the name of the notorious and formidable stronghold of the Saracens on the Liris; and this passage of Genesios supplies us with the origin of the later name of the river, which, from that fortress, came to be called Garigliano = Galeriano, just as, for instance, Cagliari = Caralis.

We see at once that we are here getting a glimpse into Constantine's workshop. Author of these three accounts, he has drafted them independently at different times from a common document, which formed part of his collection of material. For the *περὶ θεμάτων* he has abbreviated; for the Life of his grandfather, he has converted the

1) Pp. 36, 2, 54, 4. Cp. Rambaud, op. cit. pp. 164—5, where 934 is shown to be the terminus post quem.

2) And in his preface p. 4. It was a constitutional principle that while the *βασίλεια* was collegial, the *αὐτοκρατορία* was not. Genesios could not have designated Constantine as *ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ* while Romanus was regnant.

3) P. 169.

original into literary form; *Adm.*, though it omits some details, evidently reproduces the original draft most closely. There is indeed one notable difference between *Adm.* and the *Vita* still to be mentioned. In the former the baptism of the Slavs is recorded before the attack on Ragusa<sup>1)</sup>, in the latter it is placed after the relief and is accounted for by the impression which the relief produced upon the Slavs. This motivation was evidently an afterthought of the Imperial writer, and would show that the *Vita* was composed subsequently to this part of our treatise.

For the date of the *Vita Basilii*<sup>2)</sup> it has been pointed out that our only evidence is the passage p. 282, where the capture of "Adata" in Constantine's reign is mentioned. Skylitzes records the capture of *τὴν περιβύητον Ἀδαταν*, by Bardas the Domestikos, but does not help us to a date.<sup>3)</sup> Adata, as Ramsay saw, is Hadath<sup>4)</sup>, and the date of its conquest has been supplied, only the other day, by a passage of the Arabic historian Yahya of Antioch<sup>5)</sup>, which has been translated for the first time by Vasiljev.<sup>6)</sup> From this source we learn that Leo, son of Bardas Phocas, took Hadath in A. H. 336 = A. D. 947 July 23—948 July 10. This gives us A. D. 948 as a limit post quem for the composition of the *Vita Basilii*. If I am right in supposing that the South-Italian passage in the *Vita* was written subsequently to the corresponding passage in *Adm.*, which belongs to A. D. 948—9, we obtain A. D. 949—50 as the upper limit. This gives a period of ten years (to A. D. 959, † Constantine VII) for the *Vita Basilii* and the preceding 4 Books of the Continuation of Theophanes. I shall have

1) P. 129.

2) Professor Krumbacher will allow me to suggest, for the next edition, that these important works of Constantine deserve a few more lines in his G. B. L. to indicate the respective date limits of their composition.

3) Skylitzes-Cedrenus, II 136 (*Ἀδαταν* error for *Ἀδαταν* so also 214). I do not understand how Rambaud (ib. 140) gets the date 956 from this passage, nor on what grounds he asserts that "Adapa" is right. *Ἀδαταν* is also preserved in Zonaras, 15, 9, 2 (ed. B.-W. p. 422), which (as Z. depends on Sk. here) enables us to correct the text of Cedrenus with certainty. Weil thought Adana was meant (followed by Finlay II 246 and Hirsch, *Byz. Stud.* 227), and would explain the corruptions  $\tau$  and  $\pi$  for  $\nu$  by the theory of an Arabic source (*Gesch. der Chalifen* II 473 n.).

4) Historical Geography of Asia Minor, 301: "a fort between Marash and Membitch".

5) The notices of Yahya bearing on the reign of Basil II were published and translated by Baron Rosen (*Imperator Vasilii Bolgarobitsa*, 1883).

6) *Op. cit.*, *Prilozh.* p. 65; chast I, p. 268. We are indebted here to Vasiljev for an important addition to our knowledge.

more to say on this question below (§ 14) in connexion with another duplicate passage.

§ 10. There can be no question that Constantine's information about the topography of Venice (c. 27) comes directly from a Venetian source. The general accuracy of his description of the islands and lidi, and its agreement with the descriptions in the *Chronicon Venetum* and Johannes Diaconus, have been shown by Kretschmayr.<sup>1)</sup> But it may be proved that the historical notices (c. 28) are also derived from Venice. They consist of two portions, the foundation of the place in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent., and the events of A. D. 809—10.

The account of the foundation (p. 123) reproduces obviously the Venetian living tradition. Attila is said to have laid Italy waste, including Rome and Calabria: popular tradition confused its reminiscences of the invasions of Attila and Alaric. The transition from this period to Pippin, son of Charles the Great, 350 years later, is marked by the characteristic vagueness which testifies to the nature of the record: *μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν Ἀτίλαν μετὰ χρόνους πολλοὺς πάλιν παρέρχεται Πιπίνος ὁ ῥήξ.*

The narrative of the events of A. D. 809—10 displays still more clearly its Venetian origin. It exhibits the colouring with which the Venetians themselves would tell the episode at the end of the ninth or in the tenth century. Paulus, *Cefalaniae praefectus*<sup>2)</sup>, was present during the events with a fleet, but if his report had been preserved and used by Constantine, the account would have been different. It is true that the Venetians reply to Pippin *ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι θέλομεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὐχὶ σοῦ*; but otherwise the rights of sovereignty which the Basileus admittedly possessed and exercised at that time are ignored. The submission of Venice to Pippin is represented as *εἰρηνικαὶ σπονδαί* between Venice and the king, whereas a valid treaty could only be concluded with the Basileus — as it was actually concluded by the negotiations between the two sovran powers which resulted in the Treaty of Aachen (812 A. D.). For a criticism of the situation, it is sufficient to refer to the excellent dissertation of Lentz.<sup>3)</sup> Thus the story which Constantine naively adopts from a Venetian informant is less candid than the Venetian chronicles themselves. The fact that Venice was for some time in the hands of the Franks, and then, without being consulted, restored by the high con-

1) Die Beschreibung der venezianischen Inseln bei Konst. Porph., B. Z. XIII (1904) 482 sqq.

2) *Ann. regni Francorum*, s. a. 809, 810.

3) Das Verhältnis Venedigs zu Byzanz, 1. Teil 1891, pp. 31 sqq.

tracting parties, Charles the Great and Nicephorus (Michael I) to the Basileus, is passed over; and the subject state is represented as making a treaty, as if it were an independent sovran power. The fact that a Roman Emperor could write this historical notice without a qualm is an eloquent illustration of the fullness of the practical independence of Venice in the tenth century.

In view of the constant relations of Venice with Constantinople, it would be vain to expect to specify the channel of Constantine's information. After the years 933—4, when a son of the Doge Pietro Candiano II was sent to the court of the Basileus, according to 'a custom of the time<sup>1</sup>), down to the end of Constantine's reign, the Venetian chronicles do not specially record intercourse; but the constancy of intercourse is illustrated by the Venetian law of 960, which forbids Venetian subjects to carry letters from foreign lands (Germany, Italy &c) to the Basileus or any one at Constantinople, except official communications from the Doge's palace.<sup>2</sup>) Venice had been a sort of post office for Constantinople.

§ 11. The knowledge which Constantine shows of recent Italian history beyond the Byzantine sphere of action in the south, the information which he supplies about Hugo and Berengarius I (c. 26), have been brought into connexion with the marriage of his son Romanus to Bertha (Eudocia), Hugo's daughter, in A. D. 944. The lady was accompanied to Constantinople by Sigefridus, bishop of Parma, and Gay has observed: "*ce texte si curieux nous montre comment les ambassadeurs italiens, Sigefrid de Parme et ses compagnons, dans leurs conversations avec Constantin l'ont informé des affaires d'Occident*".<sup>3</sup>) But, I think, we must seriously consider an alternative possibility, that these historical notices were obtained from Liutprand, who arrived at Constantinople as ambassador of Berengarius II on Sept. 17 A. D. 949, and remained for more than six months.<sup>4</sup>) Though the death of Hugo (A. D. 947) is not mentioned, Lothaire is described as the present king; and the coincidence that the adjacent section on southern Italy had been written in A. D. 948—9, and that the loquacious bishop of Cremona therefore arrived when the Emperor was at work on his treatise, supports my conjecture that Liutprand was the informant.

But I can support this hypothesis by more particular positive arguments. Let us compare the main facts which Constantine records

1) Dandolo, Muratori, XII 201.

2) *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, XII 19. Cp. Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, I 271—2.

3) *Op. cit.* p. 225.

4) *Antapodosis*, VI, 4 and 10.

concerning Lewis III, Berengarius, Rudolph, and Hugo, with Liutprand's Antapodosis.

## Constantine

115, 12 Ἀδέλβερον ὃς ἔγημε γυναῖκα τὴν μεγάλην Βέρταν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν προορηθέντα ῥῆγα τὸν Οὐγωνα ἔτεκεν

115, 14—19 Lewis III comes to Italy; at Pavia; goes to Verona; is blinded. καὶ τότε ἐκράτησε Βερεγγέριος.

115, 21—116, 1, the Italians summon Rudolf from Burgundy.

116, 1—5 War between Rudolf and Berengarius; B. at first successful, then R.

117, 11 Berengarius at Verona; slain by Φαλάμβερος ὁ σὺντεκνος αὐτοῦ.

117, 12 Rudolf reigns.

117, 13—15 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λαὸς τῆς χώρας ὅλης εἰς Βεργωνίαν τῷ Οὐγῶνι τῷ προορηθέντι ρηγί, λέγοντες ὅτι ἔλθε καὶ παραδίδομέν σοι τὴν χώραν.

117, 16—20 Hugo arrives and Rudolf retires to Burgundy.

## Liutprand

I 39 Adalbertus — huic erat uxor nomine Bertha, Hugonis nostro post tempore regis mater.

II 35; 38; 39; 41, et Berengarius regno potitur.

II 60.

II 65, 66.

II 68 (Flambertus quem sibi, quoniam ex sacrosancto fonte filium eius susceperat, compatrem rex effecerat), 71.

III 8.

III 12 consensu Lampertus archiepiscopus omnium Hugoni potentissimo et sapientissimo Provincialium comiti mandat ut in Italiam veniat regnumque Rodulfo auferat sibi que potenter obtineat.

III 16.

I have set out this comparison to show the general agreement between the stories of the two writers — the brief sketch of the Emperor and the fuller history of the bishop. This general agreement would not be sufficient for my purpose, but there is one point which arrests the attention — the coincidence in the notice of Flambert's relation to Berengarius. But I have reserved two comparisons which seem to be almost decisive. In speaking of the struggle between Rudolf and Berengarius Constantine says:

116, 2: ὁ μὲν ἡμισυς λαὸς ἦν μετὰ τοῦ Βεργιγγέρι, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς μετὰ τοῦ Ροδούλφου.

Liutprand says the same thing in the same words:

II 65 unde factum est ut totius regni media populi pars Rodulfum, media Berengarium vellet.

It seems to me impossible to explain away this coincidence. Can we, for instance, consider it probable that Sigefrid of Parma, in speaking of the events of A. D. 922 at the court of Constantinople twenty two years later (A. D. 944), would have mentioned just this point which Liutprand emphasizes in his work?

Again compare the following passage:

<p>Constantine 117, 20—118, 1 καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ [Ῥοδούλφου] ἀπῆλθεν Οὐγῶν — εἰς Βεργωνίαν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου ἦτις καὶ Βέρτα ὠνομάζετο ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὀνόματι Ἀδέλεσαν δέδωκεν Λωθα- ρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Liutprand IV 13. Burgundionum pretereā rex Rodulfus mortem obiit; cuius viduam nomine Bertam rex Hugo — maritali sibi coniugio so- tariat. Sed et filio suo, regi Lo- thario, Rodulfi et ipsius Bertae natam nomine Adelegidam — con- iugem tulit.</p>
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Both writers record the three events, Rudolf's death, Hugo's marriage, Lothaire's marriage, in the same close connexion.

Now it is not too much to say that, if it had been chronologically (and otherwise) possible for Constantine to have consulted the *Antapodosis* (which was not begun till A. D. 958), these two comparisons, combined with the general agreement between the two documents, would be held sufficient to establish the conclusion that the *Antapodosis* was a source of *Adm.*; otherwise a common source would have to be assumed. I think, therefore, we need have little hesitation in concluding that it was Liutprand who on the occasion of his official visit to Constantinople in A. D. 949—50 (at which time we know that Constantine was engaged upon his treatise) supplied the Emperor with the notices which so remarkably concur with the story told in his *Antapodosis*.

And possibly there is a trace, in the *Antapodosis* itself, of Liutprand's reminiscences of his historical conversations in the Imperial palace. To his notice of the marriage of Lothaire (cited above), he adds the following observation: quod Grecis omnibus non videtur idoneum, scilicet ut, si pater matrem, cum sint duo unum, uxorem accipiat, filius filiam non sine reatu valeat sibi coniugio copulare. May not this remark, which has no bearing on the argument, have been prompted by Liutprand's recollection of an oral comment of the Emperor Constantine?

The data, then, seem to me to justify the conclusion that for this portion of the treatise *Liutprand was Constantine's informant*.



But there are some things in Constantine's narrative which are not to be found in Liutprand's book: (1) The coronation of Berengarius; (2) the story of Berengarius being taken for dead, p. 116, 5—13; (3) the subsequent relations of Rudolf and Berengarius, and how the latter frustrated the attack of the *τρεις μαρκήσιοι* from Burgundy. But these additions do not necessitate the assumption of a second source. If we can show that Liutprand was aware of any of these events, though he has chosen to omit them, we shall be warranted in concluding that, for these also, the Emperor's information was derived from conversations with him. Now he was aware of the expedition of the "three marquises" (Hugo, afterwards king, Boso, and the mysterious *Οὔγων ὁ Ταλιαφέρων*), for, though he does not record it in its proper place, he subsequently alludes to it. He says that Hugo et Berengarii iam nominati regis tempore cum multis in Italiam venerat; sed quia regnandi tempus ei nondum advenerat, a Berengario territus est atque fugatus.<sup>1)</sup>

*cum multis* corresponds to *μετὰ λαοῦ ἱκανοῦ* (116, 23), and *territus* is a quite appropriate summary of the effect produced by the methods which, according to Constantine's account, Berengarius employed. We may, then, feel confident that the supplements to Liutprand contained in Adm. rest upon the authority of Liutprand himself.

§ 12. The cities of the Dalmatian Romanoī which formed the theme of Dalmatia do not properly belong to a section devoted to the *ἔθνη*. But it was convenient to treat them here on account of the close connexion of the subject with the neighbouring Slavs. There was no difficulty for the Emperor to obtain the topographical details which he gives about the cities<sup>2)</sup> through the strategos of Dalmatia. It is evident that the story of the Avar capture of Salona was a traditional tale at Spalato. Here especially and at Ragusa information was collected. The names of persons who migrated from Salona must have been preserved at Ragusa<sup>3)</sup>; and it is clear that the date assigned, A. D. 448—9, also comes from Ragusan tradition which falsely connected the event with the invasions of the great Attila. The description of each of the chief towns is of the same form: derivation of the name, indication of the nature of the site or size of the place, notice

1) Antap. III 12.

2) The theme included Zara, Traù, Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, and the Quarnero islands Veglia, Ossero, Arbe. Antivari belonged to the *θέμα Δυρραχίου*.

3) P. 137. In the list comes Valentinus father of Stephanus *protospatharios*. This (for the reading see Banduri's note p. 344) may be an anachronism, not a corruption.

of the saint who was specially revered, and description of the chief church or churches. In the case of Traù the last item is omitted, in the case of Spalato and Ragusa more information is given. But we can easily infer that this homogeneous information was all collected for the Emperor at the same time, and doubtless in 948—9.

We have seen that the accounts of the Croats, Servians &c. (cc. 31—36) are closely connected with the account of the Dalmatian cities in c. 29 and must have been composed about the same time. It can be shown that information was here derived from Slavonic sources, but the natural place to obtain such knowledge was in the Dalmatian theme, and we shall hardly be wrong in inferring that it was collected there expressly by the Emperor's command. Jagić has touched on this question and conjectured that a strategos of Dalmatia may "gelegentlich in nähere Beziehungen zu einem von den vornehmeren, vielleicht der herrschenden Familie angehörenden Kroaten getreten sein und sich von diesen über die Provenienz ihrer Herrschaft erzählen lassen".<sup>1)</sup> This is a just recognition of a Croatian source, but I am inclined to believe that the acquisition of the information was not such a matter of chance.

Of his Slavonic sources Constantine gives one explicit indication. In his notice of Martin the Frank he states that *λέγουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ Χρῳάβοι θαύματα ἱκανὰ ποιῆσαι* (150, 4). This enables us to infer that the whole account of the peaceful policy of the Croats, 149, 9—150, 16 is derived from Croatian statements. Nor is it I think at all open to doubt that the records of Constantine as to the association of Heraclius with early Croatian history (which has given so much matter for debate to modern inquirers) reproduce Croatian tradition. We have here the Croatian and Servian reconstruction of their own history, and the tradition started with the reign of Heraclius. The Croats remembered that the father of Porga, and then Porga, were at that period their rulers. Earlier extant Greek sources contain no mention of the Croats and Serbs in the seventh century, and this fact supports what the whole tenor of the context leads us to believe, that we have to do with Slavonic tradition. This tradition is in more than one respect demonstrably wrong, but it has a historical basis. The Slavonic occupation of Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Servia was prior to the reign of Heraclius and was effected by force, not through the cooperation of the Imperial government. But Constantine's records, though they misrepresent facts, show unquestionably that Heraclius

1) Arch. f. slav. Phil. 17 (1895) 359.

dealt in a more or less decisive way with the Slavonic question. The situation speaks for itself. Heraclius found the Slavs in possession of north-western Illyricum; he could not drive them out; accordingly he regularised their position; they recognised the formal authority of the Empire and became *δουλικῶς ὑποταγμένοι*. This has been generally recognised as the right inference<sup>1</sup>), and it would not be necessary to dwell upon it if it had not been recently ignored in the masterly work of Jireček on the Romans of Dalmatia.<sup>2</sup>) He has failed here to appreciate the significance of Constantine's records. The "Eintritt geordneter Zustände", the "ruhige Verhältnisse" which existed, as he observes (p. 32), in the reign of Constans, presuppose a definite and formal understanding between the Slavs and the Roman government, and this pacification due to Heraclius (we are reminded of the pacification of the West-Goths by Theodosius I) was the historical motif of the Slavonic tradition which Constantine has preserved.

In this tradition the misrepresentation of the character (and date) of the "Landnahme" is intimately connected with the further

1) Compare Grot, Arch. f. slav. Phil. 5 (1881) 302 [this paper is an extract from a longer work, Izviestii Konstantina Bagr. o Serbakh i Khorbatakh, 1880 (St. P.)]; Oblak, ib. 18 (1896) 232 (where the consent of Rački, Rad 59, 202 is recorded).

2) Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters, in Denkschr. der k. Ak. d. Wiss., 48 (1902) III, and 49 (1904) I and II. He places the Slavonic attacks on Dalmatia, the conquest of Salona &c in the reign of Phocas (I 26), and has called attention to an important neglected passage in John of Nikiu (Zotenberg, p. 343), which mentions Slavonic devastations of the Illyrian provinces, and an attack on Thessalonica, in the reign of Phocas. But he does not seem to have realised that the attack on Thessalonica, recorded in the Life of St. Demetrius by the Metropolitan Ioannes, occurred in the reign of Maurice, nor indeed to have distinguished the two Lives. For he writes: "Die Nachricht zeigt, daß die bisher angenommene Chronologie der Angriffe der Slaven und Avaren auf Thessalonich ganz unrichtig ist und daß die großen Kämpfe in die Zeit um 609 gehören, nicht in die Jahre 678—685, wohin sie Tafel u. A. verlegt haben". The motif of the Vita by Ioannes is the early attack under Maurice, the motif of the anonymous Vita is a later attack, more than sixty years after the first invasion of Slavs and Avars, and so probably in the early years of Constans (cp. Gelzer, Die Genesis d. byz. Themenvf., 49). The siege which John of Nikiu mentions under the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Phocas must be the same as that which the Metropolitan dates in the reign of Maurice; and the local authority must be preferred. Indeed, there need be no conflict of evidence, for the notice of the Ethiopic chronicle evidently sums up events which happened during a number of years ("on rapporte que les rois de ce temps détruisirent" &c). The record of John of Nikiu, therefore, does not affect in any way the second siege of Thessalonica, in the reign of Constans, recorded in the anonymous Vita.

misrepresentation which consists in ignoring the fact that the Slavonic settlers were at that time under the overlordship of the Avars. All the devastations are set down to the Avars; and when the lands are desolate the Croatians, Servians and their fellows suddenly appear "at the psychological moment", dropped as it were from heaven. Here we come to the unhistorical tradition, which stands in glaring contradiction to evident linguistic facts, that the Croats and Serbs migrated southward from lands to the north of Hungary. Jagić has ably set the historical facts in their true light, but I must dispute his criticism on the procedure of the Emperor Constantine.<sup>1)</sup> It is surely clear that the migration of these Slavs was an invention of their own, part of their reconstruction of their early history. White Serbia and White Croatia are, says Jagić, a Phantasieland; but it was the phantasy of the Slavs, not of the Emperor or the Greeks, that was here at work. If the Slavs, as their own story was, received lands from the Emperor, not having been on the scene before, they at once had to confront the question, where did they come from? The existence of "Croatian" and "Serbian" tribes in the north supplied a motif for an answer. We have here to do not with combinations of a Greek author, but with a Slavonic construction of the past. Whether the invention was originally due to the Croatians or the Servians, the others followed suite. The Slavonic origin is shown not only by general considerations, but specially by the mention of the five Croatian brethren and two sisters in connexion with the alleged migration (143, 21). There is no evidence that the parallelism, on which Jagić insists, between the Servian and Croatian parts is due to Constantine's speculation. It was a necessary consequence of the adoption of a similar theory on the part of these peoples. Nor is there any evidence that the designation of the Zachlumi, Terbuniatae &c as Servian was the result of the author's logic, which starting with the politically defined Croatia assigned all the other Slavs of the area in question to the Servian ethnographical sphere. The conclusion rather is that the migration theory originated in Croatia, and that, as there was no ground for inventing a White Zachlumi and so on, the Zachlums and the others, not belonging to Croatia, were relegated to the White Serbia.

All that we know of Constantine's procedure from the rest of the treatise shows that he was not in the least inclined to venture on such speculative combinations as those in which old Greek ethnographers like Poseidonios indulged. He simply collected and arranged

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1) Op. cit. 61.

information. And the greater part of his information in these chapters was obtained, to all seeming, from the Slavs through Dalmatian channels. For the later part of his Servian history (pp. 156—9), he had, without doubt, more direct and independent knowledge. The Imperial government was concerned in the relations of Servia and Bulgaria during the reigns of Leo VI and Romanus and must have been fully informed of the events here related.<sup>1)</sup>

We saw that c. 30 was compiled subsequently to cc. 29, 31—36 (above § 4). The account of the Avar capture of Salona is exactly the same narrative as that in 29. They supplement each other, as some small details absent in the one are found in the other.<sup>2)</sup> The author, it is clear, simply worked up twice the same document in his collection of Dalmatian material. It is obviously, as I said, a Spalato story. Jagić calls it "fantastisch" but admits that it has "einen gesunden Kern".<sup>3)</sup> Most stories of the kind have a kernel of genuine history. Apart from this repetition, the author had gathered new material since he wrote the Dalmatian portion of his work in 948—9. He repeats in 30 his notice of the Croatian conquest, but he adds the tradition of the five brethren and two sisters. He mentions the survival of an Avar remnant in Croatia, and the relations of the Croats with the Franks. But his new matter is chiefly geographical. He gives the number and names of the Županates of Croatia, the geographical boundaries of Croatia, Servia, Zachlunia &c. Finally he notices the tribute paid by the Roman towns of the Dalmatian theme to the Slavs, here using an official source, a βασιλική κέλευσις of Basil I.<sup>4)</sup> It can hardly be doubted that the author had derived supplementary information from Dalmatia since 948—9. The difference in the source comes out in the notices of the baptism of the Croats in 30 and 31.<sup>5)</sup> In 31 it is stated (148) that "Heraclius sent and

1) We may probably explain by a difference of source the contradiction between two statements as to the relations of Bulgaria with Croatia: 150, 20 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Βούλγαρος ἀπῆλθε πρὸς πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Χρῳάτων, εἰ μὴ Μιχαὴλ κτλ., and 158, 16 κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὖν ἐκείνον εἰσῆλθον οἱ αὐτοὶ Βούλγαροι εἰς Χρῳατίαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλογοβάτου τοῦ πολέμῃσαι, καὶ ἐσφάγησαν πάντες ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τῶν Χρῳάτων.

2) The arrangement of the ἀλλάγιον, carefully explained in 29 (126, 16) is only alluded to in 30 (142, 11), and Kleisa (the kleisura) is not mentioned in 30; while 30 alone gives the number of the disguised Avars (143, 6).

3) Op. cit. 57. 4) 147, the exact sums are given.

5) Marquart, Osteuropäische u. ostasiatische Streifzüge (1903) p. XVIII, is right in identifying Porinos with Borna (Ann. r. Franc. s. a. 819). But he does not convince me that Porga is also the same, or that there was no actual foundation for the significance of the reign of Heraclius in Croatian history.

brought priests from Rome and had the Croatians baptised; and at that time their archon was Porga". In 30 they send to Rome of their own accord at a later period, after they had thrown off the yoke of the Franks, and ask for baptism, and the name of the archon was Porinus (145). Here we are in the ninth century. The two statements are of course reconcilable by assuming a superficial attempt to introduce Christianity in the seventh century and a complete falling away; but I have not to inquire here whether this explanation is right or the story of the earlier conversion was due to a wish to push back the origin of Christianity in Croatia as far as possible. We have only to observe here that when he wrote 31 Constantine knew nothing of the later baptism which he afterwards recorded in 30.

§ 13. I do not propose to enter here into a historical criticism of the difficult sections relating to the Hungarians and Patzinaks; but it is possible, without doing so, to point out a source from which the Emperor derived part of his information about the Hungarians.

In the reign of Romanus I, the Empire was twice invaded by the Hungarians, in April A. D. 934 and again in April A. D. 943; on both occasions peace was negotiated by the patrician Theophanes, the *παράκοιμώμενος* and the ablest minister of the time. The dates were recorded by the Logothete Symeon and are reproduced in the chronicles which depend upon his.<sup>1)</sup> On the second occasion, peace was made for five years, and secured by the sending of important Hungarian hostages to Constantinople.<sup>2)</sup> Now we must obviously bring into connexion with this the notice of Skylitzes<sup>3)</sup> that there was a cessation of the Hungarian inroads for a time when Bulusudes and "Gylas" came to Constantinople and were baptized and created Patricians. "Gylas" we are told remained a Christian and kept the peace, but Bulusudes was hypocritical in his acceptance of baptism and after his return home renewed the attacks upon the Empire.<sup>4)</sup> Skylitzes also mentions his fate after the battle of Augsburg. Bulusudes, as has generally been recognised, is identical with *Βουλτζούς* who is mentioned by Constantine (175, 14). Bultzu is doubtless the correct form

1) *Continuatio Georgii* pp. 913 and 917 (ed. Bonn) = Pseudo-Leo, 322, 325 = Theodosius pp. 281, 234 = Pseudo-Symeon, pp. 746, 748 = *Contin. Theoph.* pp. 422, 430.

2) *ὁμήρους τῶν ἑμφανῶν*, *Contin. Georg.* 917, *Contin. Th.* 431.

3) Cedrenus II 328 = Zonaras XVI 21, 14—18 (p. 484, ed. Büttner-Wobst).

4) Here belongs the expedition which suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Pothos Argyros, in the later half of Constantine's reign, but conjecturally before A. D. 955 (the year of Augsburg): *Cont. Th.* 462; Pseudo-Sym. 756.

of the name; Simon de Keza calls him Bulchu<sup>1)</sup>; and in other western sources he is called Pulszi<sup>2)</sup> and Bulgio.<sup>3)</sup> Constantine says that he was the son of Kalé, and that he held the dignity of *karchas*, — the third dignity in the Hungarian state, after the archon and the *gylas*. Skylitzes appears to have taken *gylas* for a proper name.

The visit to Constantinople of these two leading Magyars, the *gylas* and the *karchas*, has been placed by Krug between A. D. 943 and 948.<sup>4)</sup> But I do not think that we can probably identify them with the *δημοὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν* referred to by the Logothete Symeon. It would seem to be more likely that at or before the expiration of the Five Years' Peace, in A. D. 948, they came voluntarily to Constantinople, in order to arrange something more durable. (The passage of Skylitzes attests that the *gylas*, the more powerful of the two visitors, was in earnest.) And this inference is borne out by an important piece of information given by the Emperor Constantine, which has hitherto been most curiously misinterpreted. Dümmler says: "Aus dem Schweigen Constantins in dem Buche De administr. imp. über diese Tatsachen darf man schließen, daß sie nicht vor 950 stattfanden".<sup>5)</sup> But Constantine, though he is brief, is not silent. Here is what he says<sup>6)</sup>:

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Τεβέλης, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ Τερματζούς, ὁ ἀρτίως ἀνελθὼν φίλος μετὰ τοῦ Βουλτζοῦ τοῦ τρίτου ἄρχοντος καὶ καρχᾶ Τουρκίας.

Banduri renders as follows:

Tebelesque moriens filium reliquit Termatzum, qui nuper *in gratiam rediit cum* Bultzo tertio principe et carcha Turciae.

This version, which seems to have been widely accepted, ascribes to Constantine a statement which is neither Greek nor sense. The meaning is clear and unmistakable. ὁ ἀνελθὼν φίλος means "who came to Constantinople as a friend". It ought to be unnecessary to illustrate this signification of ἀνέρχομαι, but as it has been so strangely misinterpreted, I will quote De thematibus II p. 61, 19, τῶν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἀποσταλέντων ἀνελθόντων (from Ragusa), and, with Cple expressed, Adm. 118, 2 ἢ δὲ ἀνελθοῦσα ἐν Κπόλει.<sup>7)</sup>

1) P. 105 ed. Endlicher. The Notary of King Béla has *Bulsuu* (c. 55).

2) Ann. Sang. mai. 955. 3) Gesta opp. Camerac. I c. 75 (Pertz VII 428).

4) Kritischer Versuch, p. 263. 5) Kaiser Otto der Große, p. 495, n. 2. 6) 175, 11.

7) I see that Marczali (op. cit. p. 128) has translated correctly, „ki mostanában eljöve mint szövetségesünk Bultzuval együtt”, and I am pleased to find that he has drawn the same conclusion as I, that the information about the genealogy of the Arpadian family was derived from them (p. 97). — Φίλος is of course technical for an ambassador of a friendly power; see De cerim. II 15, p. 568, 585, &c.

We learn then from this passage that Bultzu came to Constantinople along with Termatzu, great grandson of Arpad. The inference seems to be that Termatzu is identical with the *gylas* of Skylitzes. Their coming was friendly, and *φίλος* is not the phrase Constantine would be likely to use if they came as hostages. That the date of their visit may have been c. 948—50, is suggested by *ἀρτίως*, taken in connexion with what we know of the date of the composition of the treatise (949—52). But the important point is that we can now point to the friendly visit of these two highly placed Hungarians as an opportunity which was utilised by the Emperor for obtaining information about their country. I would in particular trace to them the notices concerning the family of Arpad, and the offices of *γυλάς* and *καρχᾶς* (174, 20—175, 17).

The notice of the employment of the Hungarians by the Emperor Leo against Bulgaria (172, 15—173, 10) obviously depends on a Greek source. In this account it is stated that Liuntis (Leuente) son of Arpad (*τὸν Λιούντινα*) was ruler of the Hungarians. But when the sons of Arpad are afterwards named, as four in number, this name is not among them. I will not indulge in conjecture<sup>1</sup>), but only observe that critics, in considering this inconsistency, should take into account the fact that the two statements are derived from different sources.

The notice in c. 8 (p. 74) of the embassy of Gabriel to Hungary obviously depends on the ambassador's report. The name of the Basileus is not given; possibly it was either Romanus or Constantine himself; but it seems much more likely that it was Leo VI.<sup>2</sup>)

It is a not unimportant question whether the account of the early history of the Magyars, before they reached their ultimate home in Hungary, depends upon information obtained by the inquiries of Constantine himself, or upon information gained at an earlier period.

1) Cp. Kuun, *Rel. Hung.* II 5—8, and the suggestion of W. Pecz that Liuntis was the eldest son of Arpad and father of *Τασῆς* (B. Z. VI 587—8). It is possible however that the Greeks were mistaken in supposing L. to be a son of Arpad. The name is Levente; we meet a later Levente in a Hungarian chronicle (*A magyar honf. kútf.*, 503). Lebedias is a different name; P. Gyula sees in it a distortion of Eleud (ib. 395.) I question Marquart's interpretation (op. cit. 52 and 522) of *Adm.* 172, 13—21.

2) Because under Constantine VII peace with the Patzinaks had become a principle of state policy, as we know from *Adm.*, and the actual application of this principle had begun in Constantine's minority, when the regent Empress used the Patzinaks, as Leo had used the Magyars, against Bulgaria (*Georgii Cont.* p. 879 ed. Bonn). — For the relations of the Patzinaks with Byzantium, Vasilievski in *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 164 (1872), Nov., Dec., Neumann B. Z. III (1894) 374 sqq.



Some light is thrown on this question by a comparison of two passages in which the boundaries of the "Turks" are described. They are not replicas as might at first sight appear.

## A.

P. 81 (c. 13). *ὅτι τοῖς Τούρκοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη παράκεινται, πρὸς μὲν τὸ δυτικώτερον μέρος αὐτῶν ἡ Φραγγία, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βορειότερον οἱ Πατζινακίται, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέρος ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία ἥτοι ἡ χώρα τοῦ Σφενδοπλόκου (ἥτις καὶ παντελῶς ἠφανίσθη παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων Τούρκων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν κατεσχέθη). οἱ δὲ Χρωβάτοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τοῖς Τούρκοις παράκεινται.*

## B.

P. 174 (c. 40). *πλησιάζουσι δὲ τοῖς Τούρκοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος οἱ Βούλγαροι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διαχωρῶνται αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰστρος —, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βόρειον οἱ Πατζινακίται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δυτικώτερον οἱ Φράγγοι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν οἱ Χρωβάτοι.*

It is to be observed that B is in its proper place, in the description of the Hungarians in Section 3, whereas A is out of place in Section 1. B presents the boundaries of Hungary correctly, as they were in the time of Constantine — allowing for an error in orientation of about half a quadrant. We have the Bulgarians to the s. e., the Patzinaks to the n. e., the Franks to w. and n. w., the Croats to the s. w. In A the omission of the "eastern" frontier has no significance (perhaps it is due to a copyist's parablepsia), but the designation of the "southern" boundary as Great Moravia is highly significant. The Great Moravia of Sviatopluk and his sons included Pannonia<sup>1</sup>), so that here the orientation is more distorted: "southern" practically represents western. But Great Moravia could not be described as a neighbour or boundary of Hungary after it had been conquered and occupied by the Hungarians. Therefore *this description* (A) *applies to Hungary before the conquest of Pannonia*, when the Magyars had not yet advanced further west than the land between the Danube and the Theiss. We have thus to do with a notice which dates from the reign of Leo VI, in the interval between the migration of the Hungarians from Atelkuzu and their occupation of Pannonia. The sentence *ἥτις καὶ παντελῶς — κατεσχέθη* is an addition of Constantine.

The importance of this result is that in the reign of Leo VI, before A. D. 906 (see below), information was obtained and recorded

1) Cp. Schafarik, II 465. Otherwise Marquart, op. cit. 119.

about Hungary, whether from Hungarian ambassadors at Constantinople or by Greek ambassadors in Hungary. We have therefore ground for conjecturing that the account of early Magyar history in c. 38 may be derived from information obtained at the same time. We might even go so far as to speculate that the embassy of Gabriel, mentioned above, belongs to this time, and that his report was the source of Constantine's notices in c. 38 of the wanderings of the Magyars and Patzinaks. The object of his embassy was to incite the Magyars against the Patzinaks; so that it would have been particularly appropriate for him to learn all he could discover about their previous relations with each other.

A word must be said about the chronology, because it concerns the date of the section on the Patzinaks (c. 37). The migration of the Hungarians from Atelkuzu to Magyarország is causally connected with the war of the Empire with the Bulgarians. We have to do apparently with events of two years: (1) Symeon makes war on the Empire; the Hungarians join the Romans against Symeon, who is driven into making peace; (2) Symeon and the Patzinaks attack the Hungarians and force them to leave Atelkuzu. Unfortunately, the Byzantine chronicles supply no definite dates (apart from the worthless statement of Pseudo-Symeon).<sup>1)</sup> Nor can we depend upon the order of events as narrated in the chronicle of the Logothete and its derivatives. In these sources the Bulgarian war is noticed after the death of the Patriarch Stephanos, which occurred, we know otherwise, May 17 893.<sup>2)</sup> But on the other hand the elevation of Zautzas to the dignity of basileopator is recorded before the death of Stephanos, and de Boor has shown that it did not take place till 894.<sup>3)</sup> We cannot therefore rely upon the order, nor accept, without further consideration, the common date given for the outbreak of the Bulgarian war, 893 (so Finlay with reservation, Roesler, Jireček, Gelzer &c).<sup>4)</sup> The only exact chronological statement we possess is that of the *Annals of Fulda*<sup>5)</sup>, where the alliance of the Romans and Magyars

1) Georgii Cont. p. 893 (ed. Bonn) = Theoph. Cont. p. 357. Hirsch (Byz. Stud.) does not discuss the chronology.

2) Hergenröther, Photius, II 697; De Boor, Vita Euthymii, p. 94.

3) *Ib.* 95—6.

4) Finlay, II 281; Roesler, *Römānische Studien*, 160; Jireček, *Gesch. der Bulgaren*, 163; Gelzer, *ap.* Krumbacher *G. B. L.*<sup>2</sup>, 977. It is to be remembered that Symeon cannot have ascended the Bulgarian throne before 893, or at least the end of 892; for in 892 Vladimir was still ruler (*Ann. Fuld. ad ann.*).

5) Pertz, I p. 412. The text is edited by Marczali in *A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi*, p. 317.

against Bulgaria is placed in A. D. 896. This account has great importance, because it seems almost certain that it depends on information obtained from Byzantine envoys at the court of the Emperor Arnulf, and doubtless as Kuun has suggested, from bishop Lazarus whom Leo VI sent to Regensburg.<sup>1)</sup> The date given by these Annals is also supported by the independent testimony of the contemporary Arabic chronicler Tabari.<sup>2)</sup> We are therefore justified, so far as I can see, in placing the outbreak of the Bulgarian war and the Hungarian invasion of Bulgaria in 896, and the subsequent vengeance of Symeon and the Hungarian migration in 897 (or not earlier).<sup>3)</sup>

The overthrow of Sviatopluk's sons and occupation of Pannonia probably happened about 906 A. D. This is the approximate date to which the evidence points.<sup>4)</sup> Kuun has attempted to refer this event to 898, immediately after the migration from Atelkuzu and crossing of the Carpathians. But he misinterprets a passage in Adm. p. 176, where it is stated that the sons of Sviatopluk lived in peace for a year (*ἐνα χρόνον*), after which civil war broke out, and then *ἐλθόντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι παντελῶς ἐξολόθρευσαν*. He assumes that the destruction of Great Moravia occurred immediately after the outbreak of the dissensions; therefore in 896 (Sviatopluk died 894, a year of peace 895).<sup>5)</sup> But the passage will not bear this interpretation. It condenses the history of Moravia after the death of the great ruler — a year of peace, then discord until the catastrophe — and is inconsistent with the western Annals, which show that Great Moravia was still unconquered for the first few years of the tenth century.

1) *Relationum Hungarorum* — hist. antiquissima, II 28. See Ann. Fuld. ad ann. 896.

2) A. H. 283 (= 19. Feb. 896 — 7. Febr. 897). The passage is translated by Abicht, *Der Angriff der Bulgaren auf Kpel im Jahre 896*, Arch. f. slav. Phil. XVII 478 (1895), and in Russian by Vasiljev, *Vizantiia i Araby za vremia makedonskoi dinastii*, Prilozh. p. 11. Vasiljev rejects this date, and places the peace with Bulgaria in 898 (ib. pp. 103 sqq.). But the coincidence of the eastern and western chroniclers, who are independent, is a strong argument for 896; especially as the western annalist's notice is probably derived from a Byzantine oral source. The views of Szabó, Hilferding, Drinov &c on this question are worthless.

3) I should not care to build much on the notice in the old Russian Chronicle under A. M. 6406 = A. D. 898, "the Hungarians passed by Kiev" (Nestor, ed. Mikl. p. 12), but so far as it goes it confirms the chronology deduced above.

4) See Dümmler, *Gesch. des ostfr. Reichs*, II 531. Cp. Dudik, *Gesch. Mährens*, I 352.

5) Kuun, op. cit. II p. 26. He thus seems to place the fall of Great Moravia before the migration from Atelkuzu which he assigns to 897, placing the occupation of Pannonia in 898 (p. 66).

Constantine (p. 164) states that the migration of the Patzinaks to Atelkuzu happened 55 years ago. He gives this date twice:

164, 11 πρὸ ἐτῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα <πέντε> οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὐζ κτλ.

164, 20 δεσπόζουσι τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας, ὥς εἴρηται, μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἔτη πεντήκοντα πέντε.

It is obvious that *πέντε* has fallen out in the first passage<sup>1</sup>), and that the author had a precise date before him. Kuun has committed an extraordinary blunder in translating the Greek. He renders *ὥς εἴρηται* "uti fertur"! and comments thus: "Constantinus annos 55 commorationis Patzinacitarum in regione Atelkuzu haudquaquam affirmat, sed id solum refert quod dicitur: ὥς εἴρηται 'uti fertur', immo alio loco operis quinquaginta tantum annos Bissenos hanc terram habitasse dicit".<sup>2</sup>) Exactly the reverse is true. *ὥς εἴρηται*, "as has been mentioned above", proves that *πέντε* has fallen out in the first passage, and the repetition emphasizes the author's confidence in his date.

If then the date of the Patzinak occupation of Atelkuzu was 897 A. D., as our other data lead us to infer, the addition of 55 gives us 952 or, with inclusive reckoning, 951 A. D., as the date of the composition of the section on the Patzinaks. We obtain however the period 898—906 A. D., during which the Magyars were in possession of Eastern Hungary (between the Danube and Siebenbürgen) and had not yet taken Pannonia, as the time from which the notice as to the boundaries of the Turks in c. 13 dates, and perhaps also the information about their early history in c. 38. This time, while the fugitive Magyars were still stricken with terror at the name of the Patzinaks, seems the most likely date for the embassy of Gabriel.

As for the date of the composition of the Hungarian portion (cc. 38—40), we have no indication, beyond the limit given by the conjectural date (see above) of the visit of the gylas and karchas to Cple. But there is no reason for supposing that the Hungarian and Patzinak portions were composed at the same time. It is clear that the account of the Patzinaks was derived from a Patzinak source, that of the Hungarians from more than one Hungarian source. The difference of source is clear. (1) The occupation of the first home of the Hungarians (Lebedia) by the Patzinaks is not mentioned in the Patzinak

1) Marczali's hesitation is unnecessary (op. cit. p. 98). He translates the second passage (p. 115): "és azon uralkodnak ötvenöt én óta a mai napig", thus omitting altogether the important words *ὥς εἴρηται* — important because they demonstrate the textual error in the first passage, and thus dispose of Marczali's "nagy ellenmondás" (great contradiction).

2) Op. cit. p. 26.

story, but only in the Hungarian. (2) The second home of the Hungarians, which was possessed by the Patzinaks when Constantine wrote, is called Atelkuzu in the Hungarian story, but has no name in the Patzinak story. We can safely infer that the author was not himself working up common material about both peoples derived from one source, but reproduced Patzinak and Hungarian materials which had come to him independently of each other.

A word must be said about the notice of Great Moravia and the sons of Sviatopluk (c. 41), which the author has subjoined to this account of Hungary. Subjoined, I say; because, as the Moravian kingdom had ceased to exist for more than forty years, the notice of it had no independent value as practical information, and the justification of noticing it at all is that the subject is à propos of the Hungarians who overthrew the Moravian power. There is no indication of the source; but it may be suspected that we have here information which came to Constantinople shortly before or shortly after the catastrophe of Moravia. It is just worth conjecturing that the source might be connected with the embassy of Gabriel, which fell later than 898 and, as we saw, probably in the reign of Leo VI, while the Magyars were still pale with terror at the thought of the Patzinaks.

§ 14. The section which is numbered as c. 42 describes the geographical route from the Danube to the eastern coast of the Euxine. The text consists of two parts which must be distinguished. The description of the route is interrupted at 177, 20 by an account of the foundation of Sarkel, and is resumed at 179, 10. The story of Sarkel has clearly been inserted by the author in a document of different origin.

It is noteworthy that in this description the starting point is Thessalonica, not Constantinople. Two routes from Thessalonica to the Danube are implied: one to Belgrade, at the Hungarian frontier, a journey of eight leisurely days, which is not continued further; the other to Dristra at the Patzinak frontier. From Dristra the distance to Sarkel is given in days, and the distance to the Dnieper by the coast in miles (p. 179). The mileage of a number of other distances is recorded, and the description ends at Soteriopolis.<sup>1)</sup>

It is obvious that we have here to do with routes of commerce, and the chapter deserves to be commented on in that connexion. I will only point out that the conspicuous position here occupied by

1) For the geography of this chapter see Westberg, *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Goticus* (Zapiski of St. Petersburg Academy, ser. VIII, cl. hist.-phil., V. 2 1901) 94 sqq.

Thessalonica must be brought into relation with a change which occurred in the reign of Constantine's father and is assigned in the chronicle of the Logothete as a cause of the Tsar Symeon's declaration of war against the Empire. We are told that two Helladic merchants and Musikos a eunuch of Stylianos διέστησαν τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγματείαν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, κακῶς τοὺς Βουλγάρους διοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ κομμερκεύειν.<sup>1)</sup> The full bearings of this record require further elucidation; but in conjunction with the passage in Adm. it illustrates the position of Thessalonica in the trade of the Empire with the north.

The account of the foundation of Sarkel depends directly or indirectly on the report of Petronas, whom Theophilus appointed strategos of Cherson.<sup>2)</sup> Its interest for our purpose lies in the fact that there is a duplicate of it in the Continuation of Theophanes, Vita Theophili, c. 28; just as we found above (§ 9) a narrative common to our treatise and the Vita Basilii. Comparing the two texts, we find that the Vita Th. gives an almost exact literary version of the colloquial relation in Adm. We have here, it may be observed, an interesting object lesson as to the way in which a writer translated colloquial into literary (but unrhetorical) diction. ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον (ἄσπρο σπίτι) becomes λευκὸν οἶκημα, καματερὰ καράβια appears as στρογγύλαις ναυσί. The texts correspond closely (excepting one or two transpositions, due to the different contexts in which they occur).

I may point out a couple of textual errors in Adm.<sup>3)</sup> Of the garrison of Sarkel we read: ἐν ᾧ ταξεῖται καθέζονται τὰ κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. Experience of old Greek texts has taught me the precariousness of numerical emendations, but here we must, without

1) Cont. Georg. p. 853. Cp. Finlay's observations, II 281.

2) The locality of Sarkel, and the circumstances of its foundation were discussed at the Archaeological Congress at Vilna in 1893, à propos of a paper read by Kh. I. Popov. See the report in Viz. Vrem. 1 (1894), 255—6. Sarkel had previously been the subject of a controversy between Vasilievski and Th. Uspenski in the Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv., 265 and 266, 1889. See also Marquart, op. cit. 28.

3) Marczali (Kútfoi, p. 192 n.) refers to the account in V. Th., but strangely makes no use of it for his text. His expression "böven elbeszéli" is misleading, as it suggests that V. Th. supplies more details than Adm. I notice that he reads χελάνδια τῷ κατεπάνω Παφλαγονίας without comment (translating "a paphlagoniai katapán hajóin"). V. Th. has καὶ τοῦ κατεπάνω τῆς Παφλαγονίας. What is said is that the fleet of Petronas consisted partly of the βασιλικοπλοίμα and partly of chelandia furnished by the Katepan of Paphlagonia. It is not stated that the latter accompanied them. Presumably τῷ is a misprint.

hesitation, for τὰ read τ'. The Vita Th. preserves the truth: 123, ταξ. καθ. τριακόσιοι κατὰ χρ. έναλλ. (2) 178, 2, ὁ γὰρ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος ὁ καὶ πὲχ Χαζαρίας — ἀποστείλαντες — ἤτήσαντο. If ὁ καὶ πὲχ were right, the singular ἀποστείλας ἤτήσατο would be necessary. But the chagan and beg are different persons<sup>1)</sup>, and therefore we must restore καὶ ὁ πέχ. And this is what we find in Vita Th. 122, 19. (3) 178, 7, καὶ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς Πετρωνᾶς τὴν Χερσῶνα καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χελάνδια εὗρεν ἐν Χερσῶνι. The sense shows that εὗρεν is corrupt. V. Th. τὰς μὲν μακρὰς νῆας ἐκείσῃ που προσορμίσας ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου κατέλιπεν. Should we read ὥρμισεν<sup>2)</sup>?

Are we justified in concluding (with Hirsch<sup>3)</sup>) that V. Th. is here directly derived from Adm.? We saw reasons for a different view in the case of the passage common to Adm. and V. Bas., and there is one particular point which suggests that here also we have to do with a similar relation. There is a small detail in V. Th. which is absent in Adm. The building of the fort is said to have been accomplished μόγῃς μὲν but διὰ πολυχειρίας λαμπρῶς (123, 12). This serves to confirm what we might otherwise conjecture, that the writer of the Vita Theophili had not the treatise of his master before him, but only a draft of the separate slip from which Constantine transcribed the passage in Adm.

In his admirable analysis of the Continuation of Theophanes, Hirsch determined the main facts about its composition. We are now in a position to illustrate the question further. The history of Genesis which was undertaken by Constantine's command failed to satisfy the Emperor, and he decided to have a better and fuller history compiled, under his own immediate supervision. He committed this work to an anonymous writer, but contributed to it one portion himself namely the Life of Basil, which is distinguished in style, and set apart by a particular preface, from the rest of the work. But the rest of the work, namely the reigns of the four preceding Emperors, could also claim to be in a manner his; he supplied and arranged materials for it, as the compiler expressly says: τῶν καθ' ἑκάστη τὰς ὑποθέσεις φιλοπόνως συνέλεξε καὶ εὐσυνόπτως ἐξέθετο (Praef. p. 4). The writer goes so far as to describe himself as little more than an amanuensis: χεῖρα μόνως λαβὼν ἡμῶν διακονουμένην σοι ὅσα τοῖς πρὸ σοῦ βεβίωται.

1) See Ibn Fadhlan, in Kútöfi p. 217 where the king, khákân, is distinguished from the khákân bhu (= beg). Cp. Hunfalvy, Magyarország Ethnographiája, 209.

2) Marczali, ib., reads εὗρεν without comment, but translates as the sense requires "otthagyta a hajókat" = left the ships there.

3) Op. cit. 206.

The sources which Constantine's collaborator used consisted of Genesios and material supplied to him from the Emperor's collections. The narrative of Sarkel formed an item in these collections and was put to double use, the Emperor using it himself for Adm. and furnishing it to his collaborator for the Vita Theophili, just as he used the South-Italian narrative both for Adm. and for his Vita Basilii. Another case of such double use is the description of the signal fires, which appears in the Life of Michael III (c. 35) and in the treatise Ad Romanum, published as an appendix to the De Cerimoniis Book I<sup>1</sup>), for here too we can hardly doubt that we have to do with a common draft.

We saw above (§ 9) that the upper limit for the Vita Basilii is A. D. 948. Now in an important passage, to which Hirsch called attention, in the Life of Michael II, there is a reference to Constantine's anxiety for the recovery of Crete<sup>2</sup>), which Hirsch has rightly connected with the Cretan expedition under Gongyles in A. D. 949.<sup>3</sup>) We have thus reason to believe that the historical work, embracing the history of the Empire from the point where Theophanes broke off, was designed and already begun by A. D. 949; and this furnishes a terminus ad quem for the completion of the work of Genesios. It follows that the composition of the Continuation of Theophanes was going on under the Emperor's eye simultaneously with the compilation of the De adm. imp. It also follows that the design of the Continuation was not subsequent to the completion of the Emperor's Vita Basilii. The words of the compiler *ὅσα τοῖς πρὸ σου βεβίωται* would not enable us to say whether in the original plan the Vita Basilii was to form a portion of the work. The special title of V. Bas. makes us rather think that its addition to the work was an afterthought (*ἣν Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς τῷ γράφοντι προσανέθετο*<sup>4</sup>), p. 211), and this, we shall see, is the true view.

We have no definite indication whether Constantine wrote the Life of his grand-father before or after the *completion* of Cont. Th. Book I—IV. I am here met by the fact that there are a number of passages in Book IV corresponding to passages in V. Bas., and considered by Hirsch to be derived from it.<sup>5</sup>) But here again, if I am not

1) Pp. 492—3. There is one touch in the Vita, which is absent in the App.: 198, 2 *ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Φάρου φανὸς διὰ τοῦ πανπλίου ἐδήλον κτλ.* (App. 493, 15 *συνέβη τοὺς συνήθεις ἄψαι φανούς*). 2) c. 26, p. 81.

3) *εἰς Ἰνδικτιῶνα ζ'*, De Cerim. II 45, p. 664. Hirsch, 180: gerade inmitten der Vorbereitungen zu diesem Zuge, kann man denken, hat der Kaiser diese Zeilen geschrieben.

4) *προσανέθετο* = contributed. Rambaud (187) mistranslates *dictée*.

5) Enumerated by Hirsch p. 222.



mistaken, we have to do with a double use of the Emperor's raw material. A comparison of the passages in question gives me the conviction that the writers of V. Mich. and V. Bas. have independently, each in his own way, worked up simpler statements, in colloquial language, prepared by the Emperor, — the former venturing on much less elaboration and periphrasis than the Emperor himself. The inference would be that while Constantine's nameless assistant was occupied in writing the history which was to supersede Genesios, Constantine, if he had not begun to compose the *Vita Basilii*, had at least conceived the intention of doing so and prepared material for the purpose, and, as some of this material was relevant to the latter part of Michael's reign, he furnished it for the use of his assistant. It is clear that, if the *Vita Basilii* had been designed to form part of the larger work, such reduplications would never have been admitted. They demonstrate that the Emperor's biography was joined on to the other work as an afterthought.<sup>1)</sup>

We observe that in the Continuation, Books I—V, there is no reference or allusion to any event subsequent to the Cretan expedition of A. D. 949, and this circumstance<sup>2)</sup> may well incline us to suspect that, though we cannot fix any formal terminus ante quem before the Emperor's death 959 A. D., the work is not later than Adm. The Life of Michael II was, as we saw, probably composed in A. D. 949, so that unless there was some remarkable interruption, Books I—IV must have been completed not later than A. D. 950. There is one fact which suggests that the *Vita Basilii* was also written then or not much later. It is very remarkable, and it struck Hirsch<sup>3)</sup>, that there is no mention in this work of Basil's conversion of the

1) And perhaps an afterthought several years subsequent to the completion of both works. Constantine's *εὐχὴ*, I have no doubt, was to produce two distinct historical works, the one which he committed to his assistant and which embraced Leo V to Michael III, and a second on the Basilian dynasty coming down to his own time and to be written by his own hand. The first would serve as a foil to the second, the vices of Leo and the Phrygians to the virtues of the Armenian house. But he did not find leisure or opportunity to fulfil this hope, which he expresses in his preface to the *Vita Basilii* (p. 212); and when he abandoned the idea, he "contributed" this biography as an adjunct to the other history.

2) It is to be observed that the Continuer who added Book VI in the time of Nicephorus II or later did not introduce any interpolations into Books I—V. The passage in Book I (p. 21), in which Hirsch (p. 179) saw a reference to Nicephorus II, has been shown by Brooks to refer to Nicephorus I (B. Z. X 416). Thus there is no evidence of a *Schlußredaktion* of I—V.

3) Op. cit. 265.

heathen Greeks in the Peloponnesus — an achievement which is noticed in Adm. 224, 10. May we infer that this came to Constantine's knowledge after the completion of the Vita, which in that case was finished before the completion of Adm.? It is an argument from silence, and in itself inconclusive; but we may at least say that our data, so far as they go, suggest c. A. D. 949, 950 as the time at which the Continuation and the Vita Basilii were written.

§ 15. The only portion of the 4<sup>th</sup> Section which calls for special consideration here is the notice of the deliverance of Patrae from the Slavs in the reign of Nicephorus I (c. 49). The circumstances of the attack and the deliverance are described, the report thereof to the Emperor and his pronouncement are recorded, and his *σιγίλλιον* is referred to. Then the text proceeds:

*ταῦτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἀρχαιότεροι ἀνήγγειλαν παραδόντες ἀγράφως χρόνῳ τε καὶ βίῳ τοῖς ὕστερον, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τὸν προφητήν γινῶ γενεὰ ἡ ἐρχομένη κτλ. (219—20).*

Then it is stated that the burden was laid upon the Slavs to provide for the maintenance at Patrae of strategoi, basilikoi, and foreign envoys (*πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀποστελλομένους πρέσβεις*). This is interesting because it shows that ambassadors from southern Italy were in the habit of travelling to Cple via Patrae and Corinth. Finally the author refers to his father Leo's *σιγίλλιον* defining what dues the Slavs were bound to pay to the metropolitan of Patrae.

The narrative bears upon it the stamp of an ecclesiastical production of Patrae, composed — one infers from the passage cited above — in a generation subsequent to that which witnessed the siege. Both this passage, and the whole narrative, are marked by a tone different from that of the treatise, and show that we have here to do with a transcript (perhaps abbreviated). It is noteworthy that in these Acta the Greeks of the Peloponnesus are called *Γραικοί* (217, 8), — a usage which, we may infer, was current in the Peloponnesus, but probably not at Constantinople.

The character of this record as a transcript explains the absence of the normal introductory *ιστέον ὅτι* (as mentioned above § 6). It must be left open whether the notice of the *σιγίλλιον* of Leo at the end was a part of the transcribed document.

§ 16. It will be useful to give a conspectus of the chronological results which have been established, or made probable, by this investigation, concerning both Adm. and other works composed by Constantine or undertaken by his command.

De Thematibus	.. 934 — end of 944
Genesius, <i>Βασιλεῖαι</i>	.. 944 — 948
Continuatio Theophanis (I—IV)	.. c. 949—950
Vita Basilii	.. c. 950 (prior limit, end of 948)
De adm. imp.	.. 948 July 15 — probably 952
Ad Romanum	.. 952—959

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De adm. imp.

948 Sept. 1 — 949 Aug. 31	.. cc. 27, 29, 31—36
949 Sept. — 950 end	.. c. 26
950 autumn —?	.. c. 30 (probably not before 951)
951 Sept. 1 — 952 Aug. 31	.. c. 45
952 (or 951)	.. c. 37.

§ 17. The defects of Constantine's treatise from a logical point of view are obvious. It deals with two different subjects, the *ἔθνη* and internal administration; and this distinction should have constituted a primary division of the work. The first of these subjects falls again into two parts: diplomatic principles and historical descriptions. Constantine has not only coordinated these divisions and subdivisions, but has even broken up the diplomatic portion, quite unnecessarily, into two further subdivisions (Sections 1 and 2) and coordinated these also. The logical division would be as follows:

Part I: the *ἔθνη*: (1) diplomatic relations (= Sects. 1 and 2);  
 (2) historical and geographical information  
 (= Sect. 3).

Part II: facts about internal administration (= Sect. 4).

In the second place, the Emperor has placed some of his notices in the wrong place. Thus the account of the route of the Russians from Kiev to Cple has no right to be in Sect. 1 where it occurs (c. 9), but ought to come in Sect. 3; and the same remark applies to the boundaries of Hungary (c. 13) which are clearly out of place. Here too belongs the position which Constantine assigns to Imperial Dalmatia. The Dalmatian towns, Ragusa, Zara, Cattaro, Traù &c formed a *στρατηγία*, and were therefore exactly on the same footing as the theme of Cherson. As an integral part of the Empire they ought not to be treated among the *ἔθνη*. It was inconsistent to deal with Cherson in Sect. 4, and the Dalmatian theme in Sect. 3. Of course, one can see how this happened; the close connexion of the Roman Dalmatians with the Croats made it convenient.

The natural arrangement of the author's 3<sup>rd</sup> Sect. was geographical, and this he adopted. He begins in the east with the Caliphate, and

comes round to the east again, by Spain, Italy, northern Europe, to Armenia. But he spoils this arrangement somewhat by seeming to divide it into two parts northern and eastern, designating the Armenian portion as the eastern. It would not be fair to say that he is thereby committed to including the Caliphates and Italy in the northern, for he only distinguishes the Armenian portion from the account of the Scythians of the north (p. 182); but logically he ought to have indicated corresponding divisions between (1) the Caliphates and Italy, and (2) the Croatians + Servians and the Patzinaks.

Another criticism which we are justified in passing on Constantine's work relates to its remarkable omissions in his account of the *ἑθνη*. We are entitled to expect historical and geographical accounts of Germany, Bulgaria, Khazaria, and Russia. Russia indeed has been to a certain extent provided for in the notice which, as we saw, is out of its place; but a great deal more information about the Russian state was certainly accessible to Constantine; the recent treaty of A. D. 945 had been concluded under his own *ἀντοκρατορία*. To Germany there are only a few incidental allusions; yet here information was equally accessible. The court of Otto had been visited by a Greek embassy in 945; and Salomon, a chitonites, was sent again in 949 with rich presents and returned to Cple in the same year accompanied by Liutfred a merchant of Mainz, whom Otto selected as his envoy.<sup>1)</sup> Thus at the very time when the Emperor was engaged on his work and was collecting Italian information from Liutprand, he had excellent opportunities for informing himself about Germany. Stranger still is the omission of Bulgaria. He has indeed occasion to notice episodes of Bulgarian history, but these notices are always incidental, à propos for instance of the Hungarians and the Servians. But it is extraordinary that he should sketch the history of Servia and not that of Bulgaria. The Khazars are treated in the same way; they too only come in incidentally, in connexion with the Patzinaks, the Hungarians, and the route from the Danube to the Caucasus. No motive can be assigned for these omissions<sup>2)</sup>; it is impossible to conceive that Constantine deliberately intended to exclude these peoples from his *ἑθνογραφία*; and we are almost forced to conclude that Constantine set aside the work in an unfinished state and never completed it.

1) Liutprand, Ant. VI, 4; Ann. Quedl. sub. a. 949.

2) The list could be increased. Relations with Ethiopia and South-Arabia in Constantine's reign can be inferred from De Cer. II 48 p. 691. And we expect notices of such dependencies as Sardinia, and the Illyrian "Moravia" (see ib. 690, 691).

We have already, in discussing c. 30 (§ 4) seen traces of want of revision.

This inference is, I think supported by the character of the third subdivision of Section 3. It is introduced as dealing with τὰ ἐν τισὶ καιροῖς μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ διαφόρων ἔθνων συμβεβηκότων, but only one instance is given, the negotiation of Justinian II with the caliph περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων μεταναστάσεως. Parturiunt montes! But the inconsistency is positive and formal. The words ἐν τισὶ καιροῖς and διαφόρων ἔθνων distinctly show that the author contemplated several cases, and prove that he laid down the work before he had completed his design.

The value of the treatise, disfigured though it is by logical defects of arrangement and by some historical errors (such as representing Leo IV as *husband* of a Khazar princess), is incontestable. It illustrates the remark of Krumbacher about Byzantine historians generally: "So weit es die persönlichen Kräfte und die Bedingungen des Zeitalters gestatten, streben die Geschichtschreiber in Byzanz nach Information und bemühen sich von wohlunterrichteten Personen ausführliche Nachrichten zu erhalten".<sup>1)</sup> The account of Venice, which can be tested in detail, comes on the whole triumphantly out of the ordeal. It is obvious that the author spent great pains in gathering particular information from Dalmatia, for the purpose of including it in his treatise, and this portion specially exhibits his love of facts and details. His most serious mistakes are due either to the confusion of two similar events (as in the chronology of the Saracen capture of Bari)<sup>2)</sup>, or to repeating popular tradition as if it were historically accurate (as in the case of Narses). But, to quote Krumbacher again on the historians: "daß sie hinter der modernen Genauigkeit weit zurückbleiben, ist kein Vorwurf".

Our investigation has enabled us to win a closer view than before of the Emperor's literary activity in the sphere of history. We have learned that it was in the years 949—52 that he was specially pre-occupied with this subject, that he was engaged at the same time in composing the *De adm. imp.*, in writing the *Life of Basil*, and in supervising the composition of the *Continuation of the Chronography of Theophanes*. He had collected since before 945, and continued to

1) G. B. L.<sup>2</sup> 229.

2) It is always worth remembering that in the nineteenth century also scholars of no mean capacity have been guilty of just as serious blunders. For instance Muralt placed Pippin's siege of Venice (810) in 754, through confounding Pippin the son, with Pippin the father, of Charles the Great (*Essai de chron. byz.*, 356).

collect, various material, which he used not only for his own works, but also to assist those who wrote by his command. He does not copy from one book into another, but when he has to deal with the same subject in different books, he works it up each time independently from the "slips" or notebooks of his collection.

There is a great deal to be done still for *De administrando imperio*. We want above all a new critical text, and a commentary abreast of recent research. The manuscript material is so limited that to supply the former would be a comparatively light task, but a historical commentary would be a formidable undertaking. Meanwhile I venture to hope that this study of the treatise may prove of some service.

Cambridge.

J. B. Bury.

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## *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos*

THE treatise on the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, commonly known by the title *De Cerimoniis*, is ascribed to Constantine VII in the unique manuscript in which it is preserved.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that, if this attribution is true, it is not completely true of the text which has come down to us, since this text contains some passages relating to events subsequent to Constantine's death. These passages, which will be noticed below, led Reiske to throw out the conjecture that the original compiler was not Constantine VII, but his grandson, Constantine VIII.<sup>2</sup> As there is no evidence whatever to connect Constantine VIII with the work this suggestion, which Reiske only put forward tentatively, has met with no favour; and it is now generally admitted that the original compilation belongs to the reign of Constantine VII.<sup>3</sup> A careful examination of the treatise leaves no room for doubt that this is the case; but there is considerable uncertainty as to the limits of the work in its first shape and the extent of the later additions. Thus Rambaud concluded that the greater part of book ii. dates from the end of the tenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the problem of determining how the work came to

<sup>1</sup> In the University Library at Leipzig: a handsome parchment, saec. xi/xii. First edited by Leich and Reiske, 1751-4; reprinted in Bonn *Corpus*, 1829-30.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske's *Praefatio*, ed. Bonn, p. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> So Rambaud, Krumbacher, Bieliaeuv.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Empire grec au dixième Siècle*, p. 136; but he also contemplates the reigns of Constantine VIII and Romanus III (p. 134).

assume its present form, the character of the original compilation, which consists largely of transcripts of older documents, presents a second problem to the critic. It is important to distinguish the compiler's work from his material, and to discover the periods to which the various incorporated documents belong. In his book dealing with the ceremonies described in book i. cc. 1-37, Bieliaev has made several useful observations bearing on this question, and Diehl has recently made a valuable contribution.<sup>5</sup>

### I. GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE TREATISE.

§ 1. A comparison of the preface to book ii. with the preface to book i. shows that book ii. was part of the design of the original author. The preface to book i. announces as the subject ἡ τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως ἑκθεσίς τε καὶ ὑποτύπωσις, and promises to describe ὅσα παρὰ τῶν παλαιότερων ἐφευρέθη καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἑωρακότων διηγγέλθη καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἰθεάθη καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνηργήθη (p. 4). The preface to book ii. (p. 516) draws a distinction between two kinds of material—(1) written records, ὅσα συγγραφῆς παρά τισιν ἔτυχεν; and (2) what has been handed down orally, ταῖς μνήμαις διασωζόμενα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς νεωτέροις παραπεμπόμενα. It is stated that the former, hitherto scattered and disconnected, have been arranged, 'by our care,' in logical order and included in book i. (ἐν τῇ πρὸ τῆσδε βίβλῳ); the latter are to form the content of book ii. (ὅσα ἡ παρούσα βίβλος ἐμπεριέχει). There can be no doubt that the two prefaces are from the same pen, as they profess to be; the style and tone are exactly the same. But the first preface does not announce, or seem to contemplate, a division of the work into two books, nor does it discriminate the two classes of material which determine that division. Hence we can conclude that the preface to book i. is a preface to the work as a whole, written before book i. was completed or perhaps begun, and that the second book was an afterthought.<sup>6</sup>

It is to be observed that, although in these prefaces the writer

<sup>5</sup> The chief literature on the *De Cerimoniis* is as follows: the Prefaces of Leich and Reiske (in vol. i., ed. Bonn), and the Commentary of Reiske (in vol. ii., ed. Bonn); Rambaud, *op. cit.* (1870), pp. 128-36; H. Wäschke, *Studien zu den Ceremonien des K. Porphy.* (1884); Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 254-7 (where references to works on special points will be found); D. Th. Bieliaev, 'Ezhednevnye i voskresnye priemy vizantiiskikh tsarei i prazdnichnye vykhody ikh v khram sv. Sophii,' v ix-x v. 1893 (being the 2nd book of his *Byzantina*); Bieliaev's preface deals with the origin and composition of the work, and is the fullest study of the question that has hitherto appeared. The first book of his *Byzantina* ('Obzor glavnykh chastei bolshago dvortsa,' 1891) is also indispensable. For the works of Markovich and Kanevski it is enough to refer to Bieliaev's preface, p. xvi sqq. I cite his two volumes as *Obzor* and *Priemy*. Diehl, *Etudes byzantines* (1905), p. 293 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> This conclusion is supported by the fact that while in the MS. book ii. is headed τὸ δεύτερον βιβλίον (p. 509) book i. is not headed τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον.



does not give any express indication of his identity, there is not only nothing to contradict, or cast suspicion on, the authorship of Constantine, but the general tone and some particular phrases seem to bear out its imperial origin. For instance, p. 3: ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ λίαν φίλον καὶ περισπούδαστον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων οἰκειότερον, ἅτε διὰ τῆς ἐπαινετῆς τάξεως τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς δεικνυμένης κοσμιωτέρας κ.τ.λ. And the distinction between παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθεύθη and ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνηργήθη (p. 4, l. 15) seems a pretty clear discrimination of the reign of Romanus I, when Constantine was a subordinate *basileus*, from his own reign as *basileus autokrator*.

§ 2. Book i. cc. 1-83 displays the orderly arrangement which is claimed for it in the preface to book ii. The ceremonies follow each other εἰρμῶ τινι καὶ τάξει λελογισμένα, and there is nothing in these eighty-three chapters which points to a date subsequent to Constantine VII. It is to be noted that there is a considerable lacuna; a portion of the manuscript has been lost; and the chapters, which now number eighty-three, were originally ninety-two. This lacuna will claim our attention subsequently; for the present we may represent the arrangement of book i. as follows:—

BOOK I. cc. 1-83=1-92\*.

- cc. 1-37 (=46\*): processions and ceremonies on religious festivals.  
cc. 38-83 (=92\*): secular ceremonies.

The rest of book i. cc. 84-97 (or properly 93\*-106\*) consists of material different in character:

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|---|--|
| { | cc. 84, 85: ceremonies at the appointment of certain functionaries.              |
|   | c. 86: investitures of certain officers.   |
|   | cc. 87, 88: reception of ambassadors announcing proclamation of western emperor. |
|   | cc. 89, 90: reception of Persian ambassadors.                                    |
|   | cc. 91-5: ἀναγορεύσεις of Leo I, Anastasius I, Justin I, Leo II, Justinian I.    |
|   | c. 96: ἀναγόρευσις of Nicephorus II.   |
|   | c. 97: ceremony of appointing proedros of senate.                                |

The two last chapters proclaim themselves as subsequent to the reign of Constantine. The office of *proedros* was first instituted by Nicephorus Phocas, and first filled by Basil the *paraklōmomenos*.<sup>7</sup> Hence c. 97 cannot be prior to the reign of Nicephorus Phocas. C. 96 was written during his reign, for the writer refers to him as ὁ εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρος

<sup>7</sup> Cedrenus, ii. 379, μῆπω πρότερον ὄντος τοῦ ἀξιώματος (cp. Leo Diaconus, p. 49). Reiske has drawn illegitimate conclusions (Comm. p. 465), and he is followed by Rambaud (*op. cit.* p. 132). They both mistranslate the passage of Cedrenus. Cp. Bieliaev, *Priemy*, pp. 28-9 note.

(p. 434); and one might expect to find that c. 97 also was an addition of the same period. Internal evidence confirms this explanation. We find prominence given to the Caesar (τοῦ εὐτυχιστάτου Καίσαρος) along with the βασιλεὺς αὐτοκράτωρ (p. 443, 7, 10, 13). This proves that there was a Caesar when the ceremony was held from which this description is generalised. Nicephorus Phocas, on his accession, created his father, Bardas, Caesar.<sup>8</sup> After this reign there was no Caesar at Constantinople until the end of the reign of Michael IV, when his nephew, Michael Kalaphates, was adopted by Zoe and raised to the rank of Caesar. We are justified in concluding that c. 97 was based on the ceremony which promoted Basil to the office of *proedros* at the beginning of the reign of Nicephorus; and we note as significant that no account is taken of the μικροὶ βασιλεῖς (Basil II and Constantine VIII). They are equally ignored in the acclamations of c. 96. The addition, then, of these two chapters points to a redaction of book i. in the reign of Nicephorus.<sup>9</sup>

§ 3. Cc. 84-95 are documents dating unquestionably from the sixth century. This is abundantly evident from both style and contents. In particular c. 86 can be dated between A.D. 548 and 565,<sup>10</sup> c. 87 (with 88) in the reign of Justinian. The series of ἀναγορεύσεις was also compiled in Justinian's reign and formed one whole, as is shown by the fact that all the emperors are referred to as deceased, except Justinian (τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ἡμῶν Ἰουστινιανόν).<sup>11</sup> That the series is taken from the work of one writer, who looked back on the coronation of Leo I as ancient history, is proved by the last sentences of c. 91.

As the evident origin of all these chapters in the sixth century is generally admitted it is unnecessary to enumerate the marks (offices, institutions, technical nomenclature) which differentiate them from the rest of book i. The only question which admits of dispute is their authorship. The lemmata in the manuscript state that cc. 84, 85 are taken ἐκ τῶν τοῦ μαγίστρου Πέτρου. Hence we are

<sup>8</sup> Leo Diaconus, p. 49. It is hardly necessary to observe that the passage in the preface to Nicephorus Phocas, *De velitatione bellica*, p. 185 (ed. Bonn), refers to this Bardas Caesar (Βάρδας ὁ μακαρίτης Καῖσαρ), and not, as I have somewhere seen it explained, to the uncle of Michael III.

<sup>9</sup> Rambaud (with Reiske) contemplates the possibility of c. 97 dating from the sixth century, the *πρόεδρος* being the old *princeps senatus*. But, apart from other objections, such a date is peremptorily excluded by the style (which is homogeneous with that of the ninth and tenth century ceremonies, in marked contrast with that of the sixth-century documents, cc. 84-95) and by later institutions which are implied.

<sup>10</sup> Theodora dead, 390, 9; Justinian still alive, 391, 17.

<sup>11</sup> P. 433, 1. I may observe that in this chapter, 433, 5, κομέντων should be corrected to κοβέντων (*contentum*). The mistake was due to the easy confusion of μ and β in tenth and eleventh century MSS. So in *De Adm. Imp.* 74, 20, Νεμογάρδας should be corrected to Νεβογάρδας (Novgorod).

justified in assigning them to the *περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως*<sup>12</sup> of Peter the Patrician, whose position as *magister officiorum* explains his special interest in these ceremonies. It was a natural conjecture of Reiske that not only cc. 84 and 85 but the following ten chapters also belong to Peter. This view was rejected by Wäschke,<sup>13</sup> but probability, as Patzig has shown, is entirely in its favour.<sup>14</sup> Otherwise we have to believe that these chapters, here juxtaposed, have been taken from two (or more) different works, dating from the reign of Justinian, similar in subject and uniform in style.

The authorship, however, is unimportant for the present purpose. For that purpose, and in relation to Constantine's work, all these chapters form a single group which stands apart from cc. 1-83. (1) Whereas 1-83 are a guide to the actual court ceremonial of the tenth century, 84-95 are of purely antiquarian interest. They not only describe ceremonies which had been changed in character, but concern obsolete institutions (e.g. the Augustalis of Egypt, the *κόμης σχολῆς*), and apply to circumstances which no longer existed (the Persian kingdom; the Ostrogothic kingdom, or western emperors, in Italy). (2) 91-5 describe ceremonies as performed on particular historical occasions. In 1-83 the descriptions are always generalised. (3) This group stands quite outside the arrangement of 1-83. If 84, 85 had been part of the design of book i. they should, in accordance with the principle of its arrangement, have followed 43-59. These considerations establish that 84-95 are an accretion, lying outside the homogeneous unity of the book. It does not follow, however, that they may not have been added by the author himself, just as in a similar case a modern writer might furnish in an appendix extracts of antiquarian interest.

§ 4. Book ii., in contrast to book i., is a miscellany showing little attempt at arrangement. We learn from its preface (as we have seen) that it was taken in hand after the completion of book i., and that its aim was to describe ceremonies (*τάξεις*) which had not been already committed to writing. Cc. 1-25 conform to this scheme, and are homogeneous with book i. 1-83, with the exception of c. 17. They all describe *ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν* on certain occasions, and so continue and supplement the ceremonial of book i. Fol. 208 of the manuscript is missing; it contained the end of c. 16, c. 17, and the beginning of c. 18. According to the index (p. 511) c. 17 described the *ἀναγόρευσις* of Romanus II. We find

<sup>12</sup> See Suidas *sub* Πέτρος δ ῥήτωρ.

<sup>13</sup> Ueber das von Reiske vermutete Fragment der Exzerpte Konstantins *Περὶ ἀναγορεύσεως*. Dessau, 1878.

<sup>14</sup> Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.* ii. 436-7. On Peter's use of colloquial Greek in a relation of his embassy to Persia see Menander, fr. 12, *F. H. G.* iv. 217. Cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.* p. 339. Bielinev also accepts Reiske's view as probable (*Privnyy*, p. xxxiii, note).

also, appended to c. 15, descriptions of the particular proceedings on the occasions of the receptions of Saracen ambassadors and of a Russian princess in the reign of Constantine. Although such accounts, relating to specific occasions, are not found in book i., 1-83, they can hardly be said, for this formal reason, to be interlopers or to imperil the unity of the group cc. 1-25. But it is only these first twenty-five chapters that can be said either to conform to the programme of the preface or to continue the subject of book i.

Cc. 26-39 are antiquarian and historical, and must have been, for the most part, transcribed from written records. C. 26 relates to Theodosius I (with reference to a life of St. Ambrose). Cc. 27-30 describe ceremonies in the reign of Heraclius, cc. 31-7 acts in the reign of Michael III; c. 38 recounts the enthronisation of Theophylactus as patriarch in A.D. 933; c. 39, on the obsolete office of the *praepositus* of the patriarch, refers to an *ἀσφάλεια* of Heraclius.

§ 5. Thus ii. 26-39 bear a relation to ii. 1-25 similar to the relation which i. 84-95 bear to i. 1-83. The rest of book ii. is of a more miscellaneous character. C. 40 contains an antiquarian explanation of the origin of the twelve *λῶροι* worn on Easter Sunday by the emperor, *magistri*, &c., and an enumeration of treasures preserved in certain chapels; and c. 41, which seems closely connected, an enumeration of *ἀλλάξιμα*. C. 42 describes the imperial tombs in the church of the Holy Apostles. C. 43 gives the acclamations of the army on the occasion of triumphs. Cc. 44, 45 are copies from official schedules of military armaments in the reigns of Leo VI (A.D. 902), Romanus I (A.D. 935), and Constantine VII (A.D. 949), and are quite alien to the subject of the work. Cc. 46-8 form a group concerning the official style of address to be observed in relations with foreign and client princes. Cc. 49 and 50 contain respectively tables of the taxes paid by officials on their appointment and of the stipends of strategoi and kleisurarchai, in the reign of Leo VI. In c. 51 we have the description of a ceremony. Cc. 52, 53 consist of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, composed in A.D. 900; and c. 54 is a *notitia episcopatum* by Epiphanius of Cyprus, which Philotheos added as an appendix to his work. C. 55 defines the distribution of the fees paid by patricians on their elevation to that rank. The manuscript breaks off in this chapter, but the index shows that the book contained two more chapters, 56 being a life of Alexander of Macedon and 57 containing *τοῦ φυσιολόγου ἢ τῶν ἐκάστου θηρίου θαυμαστικῇ ἕξις, πρὸς τε θεὸν ἀναγωγὴ καὶ τῶν ἐν βίῳ εὐαρεστούντων λόγοι ν'.*

The titles of these two lost 'chapters' prove that book ii. of our manuscript includes matter which cannot have formed part of book ii. of the treatise on ceremonies designed by Constantine VII,

or of any ceremonial book. The other chapters which have been enumerated fail to conform to the programme announced in the preface, but these two have not even the remotest connexion with the subject of the work. Hence we can conclude with certainty that book ii. assumed its present form and compass by a purely mechanical process of stringing together and numbering as chapters *documents which happened to be physically associated with the original book ii. of Constantine.*

§ 6. Setting aside 56 and 57, most of the other chapters of book ii. might be alleged to have some bearing, near or remote, on the theme of the book. The relevance of cc. 43 and 51 is obvious. Cc. 40, 41 might be considered as notes on certain costumes and churches mentioned in various ceremonies, while cc. 49, 50, and 55 may be regarded as excursus to the ceremonies which pertain to the appointment of officials. Cc. 46-8 are also distinctly appropriate as an appendix. The enumeration of the tombs in the church of the Apostles, c. 42, might be *à propos* of the reference to certain tombs in that church in c. 6 (p. 533). It is to be observed that between cc. 41 and 42 there was once another document, described in the index (p. 513) as a brief list of the emperors who reigned at Constantinople, beginning with Constantine the Great. A leaf seems to have been lost between ff. 216 and 217 of the manuscript (cp. Reiske, p. 754). The index numbers this list c. 42, and throws together as c. 43 the two chapters which are numbered c. 42 and c. 43 in the text. There was evidently a confusion in the capitular arrangement here; and when we note that the paragraph which appears as c. 41 really belongs to the latter part of c. 40 we may conclude that the division ought to have been: 41, list of emperors; 42, imperial tombs; 43, *εὐφημία ὑπὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων*. A list of emperors is an irrelevancy; its occurrence in this place may possibly have been determined by the adjacent list of the imperial tombs, to which it might have been intended to serve as a chronological guide.

It is difficult to see how the descriptions of the armaments sent on various occasions to Crete and Italy in cc. 44, 45 have any relation to the subject of the book, or how a writer treating of court ceremonies could have thought of introducing them in any shape into his work. The fact that they contain some information about some military officials and their bureaux is obviously no justification. They must be placed in the category of irrelevant matter.

On the other hand cc. 52, 53 are a document which is strictly pertinent and cognate, the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos. But can we suppose that the writer of the original book ii. intended to include in his work a complete treatise by an earlier writer? Such a supposition would be in manifest contradiction to his

intention as declared in the preface, and seems in itself unlikely. It is not even as if this treatise of Philotheos had not been independently published. Written as a practical manual in A.D. 900, we should *a priori* expect it to have been disseminated, and this expectation seems to be confirmed by the discovery of a part of the treatise in a miscellaneous manuscript in the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> The document was identified, and the variants published, by Uspenski.<sup>16</sup> Though it is not possible to demonstrate that this copy was not transcribed from a copy of the *De Cerimoniis*, book ii., there is nothing to suggest that this was the case; and the fact that the same manuscript contains another document dealing with the ranks and dignities of the Byzantine court, which is not included in the *De Cerimoniis*, may be urged as a positive indication that the book of Philotheos came to the scribe of the Jerusalem codex in another form.

§ 7. The result of our analysis is that in the collection which the manuscript describes as book ii., and presents as a connected whole with capitular divisions, only cc. 1-25 can claim to be the original book designed by Constantine and announced in his preface. The rest is a miscellany of various documents, some perfectly irrelevant and extraneous, some more or less closely connected with the subject, others loosely hanging on to its outskirts.

§ 8. It might be thought that c. 51 should be connected with cc. 1-25, since it describes a ceremony in a similar way and is at first sight homogeneous. The lemma is of the same form:

ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ὅταν ἐν ὀχλήματι βούλεται προσελθεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ ὀρρία τοῦ στρατηγίου.

An examination of it, however, shows that it is a description not of a practice of the tenth century, but of an obsolete ceremony of the past. It belongs to an age when there was still a praetorian prefect of the east (700, 9; 701, 10, &c.) and the old organisation of the domestics and protectors still existed (700, 2-5). The decurion has prominent functions (709, 17), as in the extracts from the work of Peter the Patrician incorporated in book i.;<sup>17</sup> in the ceremonial of the tenth century he has no place. The function performed by the silentarius (699, 17) is in keeping with sixth-century but not with tenth-century usage. The style of the chapter<sup>18</sup> corresponds to these clear indications, and there can be no doubt that it is an extract from a sixth-century work, and is

<sup>15</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, no. 39, p. 115 *sqq.*

<sup>16</sup> Th. Uspenski, *Vizantiiskaia tabel o rangakh*, p. 101 *sqq.*, in the *Izvestiia russkago arkheologicheskago Instituta v Kplie*, iii. 1898.

<sup>17</sup> See 390, 20; 397, 17; 403, 15; 407, 21. *οἱ τριβαῦνοι τοῦ πραισέντου* (700, 1) is another indication. For the *προσκήνησις* by the domestics and protectors see 397, 7.

<sup>18</sup> Compare also *paratus* and *transfer*, p. 699, *loco* p. 701. So *transfer*, p. 407, 20.

homogeneous in character with book i. cc. 84-95. We must therefore place it in the same category not as ii. 1-25, but as ii. 25-39.

§ 9. Some of the documents of this miscellany, as we have just seen, are extracts from works prior to the tenth century (viz. cc. 26-37, 39, 51). Cc. 49, 50, and part of 44 (651-60, 12) are official documents of the reign of Leo VI. C. 38 and the rest of c. 44 belong to the reign of Romanus I. C. 45 is an official document of Constantine's reign, describing the Cretan expedition of A.D. 949. That c. 40 (which involves 41) was written in Constantine's reign is shown by the form of the reference to him as living (640, 3); and a definite *terminus a quo* is supplied by the mention of the fourth indiction (641, 3), which can only have been A.D. 945-6. C. 48 was compiled in the reign of Constantine VII and Romanus II (686, 28 and *passim*); and there is no reason to dissociate cc. 46, 47.

§ 10. There are only two chapters containing indications which point to a later date than the reign of Constantine. In c. 42 among the tombs at the Holy Apostles', is mentioned that of Constantine himself, and in another place the same emperor is referred to as deceased. But these passages do not justify the conclusion, which is generally drawn, that the chapter, as a whole, dates from a period subsequent to Constantine.

648, 7. ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ αἰοῖδιμος σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντι τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ.

649, 1. Ζωὴ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστέπτου καὶ Πορφυρογεννήτου τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως τοῦ ἐγγόνου Βασιλείου.

In the first passage the addition *τελευτήσαντι* is without a parallel in the rest of the chapter, and obviously shows that the words were written not long after Constantine's death. But if the whole chapter had been written then—say, in the reign of Romanus II—the writer must have said *ἀρτίως*, not *ὕστερον*. *ὕστερον* has no point in the sentence as it stands. It is impossible to suppose that 'subsequently to the death of Leo VI' can be meant.<sup>19</sup> The only supposition which explains *ὕστερον* is that the chapter was compiled by Constantine, and that the clause *σὺν τῷ υἱῷ—Πορφυρογεννήτῳ* was interpolated, or added in the margin, after his death. Thus *ὕστερον* becomes perfectly intelligible. The clause means, 'Constantine himself, who wrote all this, died *since*, and was buried with his fathers.'

In the second passage *τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως* similarly stamps itself as an addition. Anyone writing the *whole* sentence would not have used this form of words. He would have said, *τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου*, or something of the kind. The

<sup>19</sup> Rambaud, *op. cit.* p. 133, translates erroneously 'enseveli, longtemps après son père, dans le même tombeau.'

epithet *θεοστέπτου* suggests a living sovran. We may conclude that Constantine himself wrote *Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστέπτου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου, τοῦ ἐγγόνου Βασιλείου*, and that *τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως* was inserted by the same hand which added the notice of his sepulture.

It is to be observed that throughout the enumeration of the tombs emperors are designated only by their names and the distinguishing epithets necessary to identify them (e.g. the two Justinians are distinguished as *μέγας* and *μικρός*; Theodora, wife of Theophilus, by her official epithet *μακαρία*). The sole exceptions to this rule are Basil I and Leo VI. Basil is described as *τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότης* (648, 12, 17, 24); Leo is *ὁ κύρις Λέων ὁ βασιλεύς* (648, 2), *τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος* (*ibid.* 15),<sup>20</sup> *τοῦ μακαρίου Λέοντος* (*ibid.* 11, 17). This exceptional treatment conforms to the regular practice, which marks the writings of Constantine VII, of speaking of his father and grandfather with formal respect—‘his majesty Basil,’ ‘his late majesty Leo.’

The form of the two interpolations can leave no doubt that they were added at no very long period after Constantine’s death. If they were added after the death of Romanus II one would suppose that the interpolator would have also inserted a notice of that emperor’s tomb.<sup>21</sup> It is possible that such a notice was added, for there is a brief lacuna after 648, 22;<sup>22</sup> but this question must be left open. In any case such a late date as the reign of Constantine VIII, suggested by Rambaud, is quite inconsistent with the character of the references to Constantine VII. Rambaud assumed, with Reiske, that the words *Βασιλείος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου* (648, 19) could only refer to Basil II, brother of Constantine VIII.<sup>23</sup> Basil II (whom one might expect to find distinguished as *Βουλγαροκτόνος*, if the reference were to him) was buried, as Reiske pointed out, in the church of St. John the Evangelist at Hebdomon.<sup>24</sup> (There is undoubtedly some corruption in the words which immediately follow: *καὶ Βάρδας ὁ υἱὸς Βασιλείου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ*—for Basil I had no son named Bardas: should it be Stephanos?—but *αὐτοῦ* evidently refers to Constantine VII.) I suggest that this *Βασιλείος*, ‘brother of Constantine Porphyrogennetos,’ was the son of Leo VI by Eudocia, who died in infancy.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Constantine speaks of the recent emperors, Leo and Romanus I, as *κύρις*, gen. *κυροῦ*, in *De Adm. Imp.* 200, 4, 18, 201, 4, &c.

<sup>21</sup> Recorded in the lists of tombs printed in Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, i. 121. More will be said of this below, § 15. <sup>22</sup> Cf. Reiske, p. 766.

<sup>23</sup> Rambaud, *op. cit.* p. 133. This is the only ground for the view that the greater part of book ii. was compiled in the time of Constantine VIII (p. 136).

<sup>24</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* vi. c. 17, p. 364.

<sup>25</sup> Cedrenus, ii. 480; Reiske, p. 764. The objection to identifying this Basil with Basil II, furnished by the positive evidence of Cedrenus, is reinforced by the following



The conclusion is that c. 42 was compiled in the reign of Constantine VII, and that two interpolations were added, not many years after his death, in the reign of his son or of Nicephorus Phocas. It will be shown below (§ 15) that this conclusion is supported by certain marks of Constantinian compilation; and it may also be remarked that, as we otherwise know, Constantine took a particular interest in the church of the Holy Apostles, which his grandfather Basil I had restored.<sup>26</sup> It was in obedience to his wish that Constantine of Rhodes wrote a description of the church in iambic trimeters, which has been published from a manuscript preserved in the Laura of Mount Athos.<sup>27</sup> It was written between 931 and 944 A.D.,<sup>28</sup> and the emperor Constantine's interest in the church is emphasised in the lines (430-1)—

καὶ τὸν φαεινὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον δόμον  
αὐτῶν γεραίρει καὶ ποθεῖ ξενотρόπως.

§ 11. The other passage which contains marks of a later date than Constantine's reign is the last section of c. 55. This section is entitled *περὶ συνηθειῶν τῶν πραιποσίτων ἐν τῇ τάξει τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου*, and in Reiske's text is numbered as a separate chapter (56). It is on the last folio of the manuscript, which is mutilated (as we saw) and terminates in the middle of a sentence. In this section the following words occur:

καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐκράτει ἡ συνήθεια, ἐξηύρηται δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰωσήφ πραιποσίτου τοῦ γέροντος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ οἷς καὶ ἐπέπρακτο.

Joseph, the *praepositus*, is manifestly Joseph Bringas, patrician and *praepositus*, who held successively the posts of *sakellarios* and *δρουγγάριος τῶν πλοῦτων* under Constantine VII,<sup>29</sup> who on his death-bed intrusted Romanus II to his care.<sup>30</sup> Under Romanus, who appointed him *parakoimomenos*, he was the most influential member of the administration (as *παραδυναστεύων*), and guided the counsels of the emperor.<sup>31</sup> The accession of Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 963) meant his fall,<sup>32</sup> and he was banished to Paphlagonia.

consideration: It is highly improbable that Basil II would have been simply described as the 'brother of Constantine' in any other reign than that of Constantine VIII; but it is also highly improbable that a writer of that time, in the three years after Basil's death (1025-8), would have designated him baldly as *Βασίλειος*, without the addition of *δ μακάριος* or something of the kind.

<sup>26</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* ('Vita Basilii,' c. 80), p. 323.

<sup>27</sup> By Legrand, with commentary by Th. Reinach, in *Revue des études grecs*, ix. 32 sqq. 1896. An edition by Begleri was also published at Odessa in 1896.

<sup>28</sup> When four *βασίλεις* were reigning, vv. 22-6.

<sup>29</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* p. 445.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* p. 466.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 469, 474, 479, 480. The contrast between the favourable treatment of Joseph in this work and the disfavour shown to him in the chronicle of Skylitzes (Cedrenus) is marked.

<sup>32</sup> Leo Diaconus, p. 31 sqq.; Skylitzes-Cedrenus, ii. 350-1. We have a contemporary account in the relation of the *ἀναγόρευσις* of Nicephorus, added to book i. of the *De Cerimoniis* (c. 96).

The form of the reference to Joseph in the sentence above quoted gives the impression that it was written after his fall, but not at a very much later period. He is not designated as *ὁ γέρων* in any of our other sources, and it is natural to conjecture that this was the familiar way in which he was spoken of by his contemporaries in the reigns of Romanus II and Nicephorus.

Further on, however, in this document (807, 23) we read *χαυνότητι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραιποσίτων*, and Reiske, referring *μετὰ ταῦτα* to the days of Joseph, draws the conclusion : <sup>33</sup>

*debet codex hic ceremonialis multum aetate Constantini Porphyrogeneti senioris et Nicephori Phocæ posterior esse.*

Even if this explanation of *μετὰ ταῦτα* is correct Reiske's inference—*multum posterior*—is not necessitated, for the *πραιπόσιτοι* were a body, and the period of their 'negligence' might have lasted only a short time, within the reign of Nicephorus. But it is important to understand the character of our document, as a whole, which Reiske has not considered. It has the authoritative character of an order, written by the direction of an emperor, to reform an abuse which had crept in. It begins in the fashion of an imperial constitution :

*ἐπειδήπερ πᾶσιν πρόκειται ἡ τῆς τερπνῆς ἵπποδρομίας χαρμόσυτος θέα καὶ ἀκριβὴς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ διαφόρων τάξεων ἐνάργιστος χωρία (leg. χορεία) καὶ σύμπνοια, δεῖ πάντως καὶ ταύτην ἀνάγραπτον ταῖς εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς γενεαῖς καταλιπεῖν σημαίνουσαν κ.τ.λ.*<sup>34</sup>

The special purpose of drawing up the register (*ἀναγραφὴ*), for the regulation of the *τάξεις τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου*, was to put an end to an irregularity. The functions which properly belonged to the *præpositi* of administering and distributing the salaries (*ρόγαι*) of the *πολιτικαὶ τάξεις* of the Hippodrome had been partly taken out of their hands by a conspiracy between the *chartularii* of the factions and the military treasurer (*λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ*), who on their own authority (*χωρὶς γνώμης τῶν πραιποσίτων*) nominated recipients of salaries, and of course profited by this traffic. This practice is here forbidden :

*καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δεῖ πάλιν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ταῦτα κατέχειν καὶ διορθοῦσθαι, καὶ μηκέτι μῆτε τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἢ τοὺς χαρτουλαρίους καὶ νοταρίους ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*

We have clearly to do with an imperial ordinance, and in such an official document the description of Joseph as *τοῦ γέροντος* would be distinctly strange. This sentence referring to Joseph appears to state that the fee to the *præpositi* was an ancient custom, but

<sup>33</sup> P. 903. So Rambaud, p. 133.

<sup>34</sup> For the beginning, *ἐπειδήπερ*, cp. the novel of Basil II, Zachariä, *Ius Graeco-Romanum* iii. 308, and that of Constantine VII, *ibid.* p. 257.

was intermitted and then reintroduced by the predecessors of Joseph. If, then, the ordinance dates from a period subsequent to Joseph we have four stages in the history of the *συνήθεια*: (1) the ancient custom (2) fell wholly or partly into abeyance, (3) was renewed by Joseph's predecessors, (4) was again endangered by the usurpations of the military treasury. There is nothing impossible in this; but I do not believe that it is the right interpretation. While τὸ γὰρ ἀκρόστιχον (l. 14) follows on naturally to ἀπαρallάκτως τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τύποις ἐξακολουθοῦσιν (l. 11) the intervening sentence (καὶ γὰρ ὡς—ἐπέπρακτο) comes in awkwardly. Its baldness gives it a distinct character from the rest of the document; and its tone is incongruous. The ordinance is drawn up in the interests of the *praepositi*, to secure them the control of the *ρόγαι* and their due *συνήθεια*; but this sentence gives the impression that its writer was not particularly favourable to the claims of the *praepositi*. Besides the not very respectful designation of Joseph, the words ἐξηύρηται and οἷς καὶ ἐπέπρακτο combine to convey this impression. We seem to have to do with a marginal note, not belonging to the original text, and intended as a comment on τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τύποις (which is taken up by καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ).<sup>35</sup> If so the note was evidently added after Joseph's disgrace, in the reign of Nicephorus; and the regulation itself was of older date, whether of the reign of Constantine VII or of an earlier emperor.

§ 12. We saw that the only parts of book i. which imply a date later than Constantine VII were an addition made in the reign of Nicephorus II (cc. 96, 97). An examination of book ii. has led to the result that it contains no document that need be posterior to Constantine VII, but that there are three interpolations, two in c. 42 and one in c. 55 (56), of which the last dates from the time of Nicephorus,<sup>36</sup> while the others might belong either to his reign or to that of Romanus II. These results mutually sustain each other, and point clearly to the conclusion that the redaction of the *De Cerimoniis*, in the form in which it has come down to us, dates from the reign of Nicephorus. There is no proof of any alterations or additions subsequent to that time.

Of what nature was this redaction? Constantine left his first book entire. Of his second book he succeeded at all events in completing a part (cc. 1–25). In the work of compilation he used a number of documents bearing on various parts of his subject, some of them describing ceremonies of a long past date. Bieliaev has well shown how such descriptions of actual ceremonies were

<sup>35</sup> There is no difficulty in τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραιποσίτων, 'subsequent "praepositi"' (l. 23); they are contrasted with the 'praepositi' of l. 15.

<sup>36</sup> If it is not admitted that this is an interpolation I contend that we must ascribe the whole document to the time of Nicephorus.

used as a basis for the prescribed ceremonies.<sup>37</sup> Thus the description of the reception of a deputation by Michael III in c. 37 seems to have supplied the hint for the procedure prescribed in c. 1 (522, 5 *sqq.*); and the directions in c. 14 (565) seem to be based on the ceremony described in c. 38. The reception in the Magnaura, c. 15, is based on the actual proceedings in the case of the Saracen ambassadors and the princess Olga, which are added as an appendix to this chapter. The practical use of these extracts from history, ancient as well as modern, is indicated in some of the lemmata, as in c. 31 (*πὼς δεῖ προσφέρειν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναθήματα*), where the title suggests the general application of a particular ceremony performed by Michael III. To this class of documents, some of practical use, others of antiquarian interest, belong cc. 84-95 of book i. and cc. 26-39 of book ii. From the circumstance that cc. 84-95 are appended to book i. we can conclude that they were placed there by Constantine himself; for if all these documents had formed a separate *dossier* it is highly unlikely that the redactor would have inserted some of them in book i. and some of them in book ii. It seems clear that the *original compiler*, when he had completed book i., added the series of extracts from Peter as a sort of appendix. And it was because he found a series of *ἀναγορεύσεις* (91-95) at the end of book i. that the *redactor* added here (and not in book ii.) the *ἀναγόρευσις* of Nicephorus, with which he naturally associated further the ceremony of the proedros.

§ 13. It is further to be observed that cc. 26-39 of book ii. form a homogeneous series, whereas the rest of the book is a miscellany, showing no sign of ordered arrangement. This suggests that Constantine intended this series to follow book ii., exactly as the other series followed book i. It therefore seems possible that the true book ii. is complete, cc. 1-25 forming the body of the book and cc. 26-39 an appendix of illustrative material. The upper limit of date for its composition is the autumn of the year in which Olga visited Constantinople, A.D. 957, as recorded in c. 15; <sup>38</sup> while the upper limit for the completion of book i. is 956, the year of the death of the patriarch Theophylactus, who is referred to as no longer alive in c. 28 (p. 160).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Priemy*, pp. xxxiii-iv.

<sup>38</sup> The date (falsely given in the Russian chronicle as 955) can be inferred from Constantine's account, though he does not mention the indiction. Olga's audience was on Wednesday, 9 September (p. 594), and there was a banquet to which the Russian retinue was invited on Sunday, 18 October. The only years in Constantine's reign fulfilling these data are 946 and 957, of which the former is otherwise excluded. It would be unnecessary to call attention to this were it not that Rambaud (*op. cit.* p. 380) strangely says 'pas de date à tirer de *Cérém.* ii. 15,' and leaves it open whether the year was 956 or 957. The true date is now currently accepted. There are good notes on Olga's visit in Ilovaiski, *Istoriia Rossii*, i. 294-5.

<sup>39</sup> Book ii. c. 18 seems to have been compiled before the marriage of Romanus II

§ 14. On the other hand the incorporation of cc. 40-57 in the second book was the work of the redactor. These chapters are evidently the miscellaneous contents of a *dossier* or collection of pieces, which he found physically associated with the original manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*. They are, in fact, literary papers of Constantine, partly excerpts, partly compositions of his own, some of which he may have intended to add to *De Cer.* book ii. (for instance, cc. 40, 43, 51<sup>40</sup>). The want of intelligence on the part of the redactor is apparent. The inclusion of such irrelevant documents as the schedule of the military expeditions in cc. 44, 45 shows that he had no discretion; but the inclusion of a life of Alexander and the contents of c. 57 proves that his procedure was purely mechanical. In the capitular divisions he also displays his incapacity. Thus c. 50 includes (1) a schedule of salaries of *strategoi*, and (2) a schedule of persons of certain classes exempt from, or liable to, service in military expeditions—two totally distinct subjects. On the other hand the separation of c. 53 from c. 52 is indefensible.

That a number of these diverse pieces were not merely used for consultation, but were designed for publication, whether in the *De Cerimoniis* or not, can be proved; for some of them either were compiled by Constantine or reveal his editorial hand. The formula which reveals his hand is *ιστέον ὅτι* (sometimes *χρὴ εἰδέναι*). This formula is used uniformly throughout the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* (varied by the abbreviated *ὅτι*), as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> (See further below; § 30.)

§ 15. This test confirms our previous result, that the enumeration of the tombs in the Holy Apostles' (c. 42) was compiled by Constantine. *ιστέον ὅτι* occurs repeatedly (pp. 642, 646-9). I pointed out above that this list might be considered *à propos* of the reference to some tombs in book ii. c. 6; yet it does not seem probable that it was intended to form an addition to book ii. It followed, as we saw, a list of emperors (lost from our manuscript)<sup>42</sup> which, whether compiled under Constantine or not,

with Theophano. Cp. 603, 3, where only *ἡ αὐγούστα* (Helena) appears. In the reception of Olga Theophano appears (*ἡ νύμφη*).

\* This chapter may have been already added to book ii. by Constantine himself; I have treated it as disconnected, because 26-39 are homogeneous.

<sup>40</sup> See my article 'The Treatise *De Administrando imperio*,' § 6, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. xv. 1906. The formula is also used frequently in ii. cc. 1-25; and the notices in cc. 26-37 are all introduced by *ιστέον ὅτι* or *χρὴ εἰδέναι*. It was not used in the case of a literal transcription, and we can infer that the account of the *χειροτονία* of Theophylactus in c. 39 is an exact copy of an account written at that time (A.D. 933).

<sup>41</sup> It may be observed that the list of emperors, which forms part of the Codinus collection (ed. Bekker, p. 149 sqq.), seems to have been originally compiled under Constantine VII. This is shown by the notice of the legislation of Romanus I (pp. 154-5), in connexion with which Constantine is described as *ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερος* K; (*πρότερος* does not occur earlier in the list).

was doubtless a separate *opusculum*. Now we possess another enumeration of the imperial tombs, published from different manuscripts by Ducange and Banduri.<sup>43</sup> It differs from c. 42 in several respects. It is briefer and less correct;<sup>44</sup> and there are some deviations in the order. It also records the tombs of Nicephorus Phocas, Theophano, and Constantine VIII,<sup>45</sup> so that it must have been compiled or edited after 1028. But a comparison of the two documents shows at once that they are not independent of each other. The order is generally the same; the form of the notices is exactly the same,<sup>46</sup> the variations mainly consisting in omissions on the part of the writer of the list. As an example of the correspondence take the notices of the first two tombs in the 'Heroon' of Justinian.

'DE CER.' ii. 42, p. 644.

'ANONYMUS' (Bekker, p. 205).

Πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν κόγχην κατὰ ἀνατολὰς πρῶτος λάρναξ ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἀπὸ λίθου ξένου καὶ ἀλλοκότου μέσσην χροιάν ἔχοντος τοῦ τε Βιθυννοῦ καὶ Χαλκηδονίτου παρὰ (?) λίθου ὀστρέτου ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστινιανός.

λάρναξ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ λίθου ξένου καὶ ἀλλοκότου μέσσην χροιάν ἔχουσα τοῦ τε Βιθυννοῦ καὶ Χαλκηδονίτου παρὰ (?) λίθου ὀστρέτου ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστινιανός.

παραπλησίως λίθῳ Ὀστρίτῃ.

ἕτερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδώρα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

ἑτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδώρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.

The question to be determined is whether the work of the 'Anonymus' was derived from the Constantinian document or was based on a common source. In the latter case c. 42 would represent not an original composition, but an edition of an older work. The former alternative must be accepted, because the characteristic *ιστέον ὅτι* appears in the 'Anonymus' (p. 207, 9 and 16; also 20, where the text gives *εἰ δέ* corruptly). Moreover the homogeneity of the Constantinian document is notable; the stone of the sarcophagus is designated throughout, whereas in the late additions of the 'Anonymus' the stone is not described (simply *ἑτέρα λάρναξ*).

<sup>43</sup> Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, bk. iv. pp. 109-10; Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, i. 121, whence it was reprinted in Bekker's *Coisinus* ('Exc. de ant. Const.'), p. 202, and (with Banduri's commentary) in Migne, *P. G.* 157, c. 725 *sqq.*

<sup>44</sup> Thus a tomb of Theodosius II is inserted after that of Theodosius I (Bekker, p. 208), and again rightly noticed in a different place along with that of Arcadius (p. 207). There is a similar duplication of Michael II (pp. 204, 206).

<sup>45</sup> Pp. 204-5. Also of Romanus II, which may have been in *De Cer.* c. 42. Observe that Constantine VIII is described as 'the brother of the emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos,' as we should expect, and nothing is said of a tomb of Basil II, who was buried elsewhere; see above, § 10.

<sup>46</sup> Curiously *λάρναξ* is masculine throughout in c. 42, but feminine, according to the commoner usage, in the anonymous list.

The 'Anonymus' has indeed one additional piece of description. It is noted that the stoa containing the tombs of Arcadius, Eudoxia, and their son is τὰ νῦν ἀσκέπαστος (p. 206); this is not mentioned in the Constantinian document. There are, however, certain other variations which suggest that this addition may not have been due to the 'Anonymus.'

(1) The notice of the casting out of the body of Constantine V, ἀλλ' ἐξεώθη κ.τ.λ. (p. 645, 4) appears in the 'Anonymus' in an expanded form (contrary to wont), and is introduced by the Constantinian formula ἰστέον ὅτι (p. 206), which is absent here in the Constantinian document.

(2) The last part of the Constantinian document (647, 20-649, 6) is omitted in the 'Anonymus.' This does not prove that the anonymous list was left incomplete, for this omitted portion records the tombs of minor members of imperial houses, ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μέρει τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας. No emperor was buried in this part of the church, and therefore a list of imperial tombs might have been composed without including it.

It seems, then, worth while to suggest that the work was issued in Constantine's lifetime without this latter portion, and differing in a few details from the generally fuller draft in c. 42; and that it was from this publication that the anonymous list was transcribed. The only objection to this hypothesis is that the tomb of the empress regent Zoe was in the omitted portion, and it may be asked whether Constantine would have allowed a description to appear which did not include his mother's tomb. In any case it seems highly probable that the document of c. 42 was intended to be an independent work by itself.

§ 16. It has already been observed (§ 6) that the list of ἀλλάξια in c. 41 belongs to, and should not have been separated from, the lists which form the latter part of c. 40. On the other hand c. 40 comprises two heterogeneous documents, (a) the account of the origin of the ceremony of the twelve λῶροι and (b) the lists of church treasures. The division between cc. 40 and 41 ought to have been at the end of a. We saw that b contains internal evidence of its compilation in the reign of Constantine (above, § 9); but it does not seem at all probable that he intended to append it to the *De Cerimoniis*. On the other hand a has no special marks of Constantinian origin, and the introductory sentence is unlike the general style of the *De Cerimoniis*.<sup>47</sup> It must be left open whether it was compiled by Constantine or is an extract from some older work. In any case it is closely connected with the subject of the *De Cerimoniis*, and would have formed a suitable adjunct to the treatise.

<sup>47</sup> ἐκ μὲν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς νοημάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας, καθὼς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ὑποτυπώσομαι. In the prefaces Constantine does not use the first singular.

That the *εὐφημία* on the occasion of a triumph (c. 48) was meant to be incorporated somewhere is shown by the emperor's *ιστέον ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ εὐφημία ἄδεται κ.τ.λ.* (p. 649, 9). It would have been quite a relevant addition to book ii.

The two documents combined in c. 44, relating to the expeditions to Crete under Leo VI, and to Italy under Romanus I, bear the marks of Constantine's editing (*ιστέον ὅτι* pp. 656-7 repeatedly, 660, 662; also *ὅτι* 663). And in the similar document of his own reign we also find the characteristic mark (669, 12, 671, 18). These pieces have nothing to do with ceremonies; their proper place would be in a treatise on military and naval organisation. The documents in c. 50, on the salaries of the strategoi and liability for military service, would also be appropriate in such a treatise. They too were edited by Constantine (compare 697, 10; 698, 9, 22; 699, 1). It seems a not improbable inference that he had formed the idea of compiling a treatise on military administration.

§ 17. C. 47 is distinguished by a special title in majuscules, a distinction which it shares with c. 52 (the *Kletorologion*). This indicates that the *χαίρετισμοί* were, like the *Kletorologion*, an independent document, and internal evidence suggests that it may have been composed in the time of Leo VI.<sup>48</sup> C. 48 seems also to be an older document, in which the names of Constantine and Romanus have been substituted in the formulae for those of earlier emperors. I conclude this from the retention of an obsolete formula for addressing the prince of Bulgaria side by side with the new form of address.<sup>49</sup> Further traces of Constantine's editing appear at p. 688, 16, and in the scholia on pp. 690 and 686.

The schedule of fees, dating from Leo's reign, in c. 49 has no signs of Constantine's hand, but it is followed by notices relating to (1) subsidies and exemptions granted to Saracen captives who have become Christians and (2) the property of soldiers, which ought not to have been grouped either together or in the same chapter as the schedule. These notices are marked by the usual Constantinian formula.

The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, cc. 52, 53, with its appendix, 54, is intact; there are no notes or additions of Constantine. The schedule of c. 55 is introduced by the Constantinian formula.

§ 18. Sorting these documents in accordance with our results,

<sup>48</sup> It looks as if the Bulgarian formulae on p. 681 were used in the first years of Leo, during Vladimir's reign (the emperor is *πάππος* because Vladimir was son of Boris), and as if those following on p. 682 (*μεταμειφθέντος τοῦ δυνάματος*) were introduced after the accession of Symeon (A.D. 893). Cf. Reiske, p. 801.

<sup>49</sup> P. 690. The first formula represents evidently the later usage of Leo's reign (see last note), while the second, in which the Bulgarian ruler is entitled *κύριος* and *βασιλεὺς*, must have been introduced when the tsar Peter married Maria, granddaughter of Romanus I.



we may draw up the following table of the contents of the collection known as *De Cerimoniis* :—

A. *Treatise 'De Cerimoniis' :*

Book i.=i. cc. 1-83 (92\*)+84-95 (93\*-104\*) [84-95 contain matter which a modern author might include in an appendix].

Book ii.=ii. cc. 1-25+26-40a [26-40a contain matter of the nature of an appendix. 51 seems also to belong to this series]. It is possible that 43, 48 (and 46) were intended to be incorporated.

Subsequent addition in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas=i. 96, 97 (105,\* 106\*).

B. *Various opuscula composed or edited by Constantine VII :*

(1) *περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων*=ii. 42.

(2) Military documents, perhaps for a treatise on military administration=ii. 44, 45, 50, and latter part of 49 (694, 22-end).

(3) *χαιρετισμοί* of ambassadors=ii. 47, with which perhaps 46 and 48 are connected.

(4) Schedule of *συνήθειαι*=ii. 55 (with Reiske's 56).

? (5) List of emperors=ii. 42 in index. But, as this is lost, we cannot say whether it belongs here or under C.

C. *Additions, not written or edited by Constantine VII :*

(1) *Kletorologion* of Philotheos=ii. 52, 53 (with its appendix 54).

(2) Schedule of fees in reign of Leo VI=ii. 49 (beginning-694, 21).

(3) Life of Alexander of Macedon=ii. 56 (lost).

(4) Documents of ii. 57 (lost).

(As the most simple explanation of the appearance of the accretions B and C it is suggested that they were found in a *dossier* of Constantine along with material connected with the Ceremonies.)

J. B. BURY.

(*To be continued.*)

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## *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos*

### II. THE ECCLESIASTICAL CEREMONIES OF BOOK I.

§ 19. IN book i., cc. 1-83, Rambaud discovered *une unité remarquable*. He believed that these chapters were mainly composed in the reign of Constantine VII, only allowing that some had been originally compiled 'in the time of Leo VI, or Alexander, or Romanus Lecapenus.'<sup>1</sup> The researches of Bieliaev have definitely shown that this view is not tenable. It is, in fact, inconsistent with Constantine's explicit statement, which shows that he mainly confined himself to the mechanical work of arranging in a logical order and series pre-existing materials.<sup>2</sup>

Book i. (omitting the appendix, cc. 84-97) falls into two parts :  
A. cc. 1-37 (properly 1-46\*) : Church ceremonies and processions.  
B. cc. 38-83 (properly \*47-92\*) : Secular ceremonies.

Bieliaev's investigation (*Priemy*) is devoted to A. It is his great merit to have shown that this first portion consists of two distinct series, and to have deduced an important inference. The first series, of which the latter part is lost, corresponds to cc. 1-17\* ; it gives the general order of the processional ceremonial on great church festivals and the acts of the factions on these occasions.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 131-2. He uses the word *rédigés* ; his argument shows that he means 'put together' or 'composed,' not 'transcribed.'

<sup>2</sup> See the preface to book ii. p. 516, cc. 5-11, especially *ἡμετέροις ἐπιμελείαις φιλοπόνως συναθροισθέντα*.

The second series, of which the beginning is lost, corresponds to cc. 18\*-46\*, and contains descriptions of the special ceremonies for special feasts.

#### FIRST SERIES.

C. 1. The general order of the ceremonial at any great church festival on which the emperors visit St. Sophia. The ceremonial on Christmas Day is taken as a model.<sup>3</sup> There are added notices of (1) special modifications on Easter Day, p. 22, 12-; (2) the ceremonial on the Nativity of the Virgin, p. 26, 12-, which holds for the Annunciation, p. 38, 8, and partly for (3) the procession of Easter Saturday, but with modifications, p. 38, 11-.

Cc. 2-9. The *Ἀκτα τῶν μερῶν* on the chief festivals from (c. 2) Christmas to (c. 9, down to p. 61, 5) Pentecost.

Cc. \*10-17\*. These lost chapters undoubtedly contained the *Ἀκτα* for festivals between Pentecost and Christmas. Bieliaev has discussed what they were.<sup>4</sup> Five may be considered almost certain: All Saints, the Holy Apostles, the Transfiguration, the Nativity of the Virgin, the Assumption.

#### SECOND SERIES.

Cc. \*18-44\* (= c. 9 from p. 61, 5-c. 35).<sup>5</sup> Ceremonies on church feasts beginning with Easter Day, ending with Easter Eve.

[Cc. 36 and 37 are additions which do not form part of this series. C. 36 is a note on certain peculiarities of the *προέλευσις* in commemoration of the union of the church;<sup>6</sup> c. 37 describes how the emperors change their attire on various church feasts.]

§ 20. Comparing these two series of ceremonies, we observe two significant facts. (1) In both cases the festivals of the ecclesiastical year are treated in chronological order, but they begin at different points of the cycle. The first series begins with Christmas, the second with Easter. (2) The second series is not merely supplementary to the first. It presents both repetitions of and divergencies from the descriptions in c. 1. For instance, compare the Christmas Day ceremonies of c. 28 with the proceedings described in c. 1. Again, in the ceremony of the Annunciation (c. 30) the emperor at one point *ἀνέρχεται διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης σκάλας ἐν τοῖς κατηχομηνείοις* (p. 166, 22); but at the end of this chapter it is noted that this part of the programme has been altered, and that the emperor *οὐκ ἀνέρχεται νυνὶ ἐν τοῖς κατηχομηνείοις ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τροπικὴν ἐστὼς τῆς ἀγίας σοροῦ κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>3</sup> This follows, as Bieliaev has pointed out, from 1, 9, p. 63, where Constantine evidently designates the description in c. 1 as a description of the procession on Christmas Day: *ὃν τρῖπον ἀνωτέρω ἐν τῇ καθόλου προελεύσει τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως ἐξεθέμεθα.*

<sup>4</sup> *Priemy*, pp. 38-40, note 2. In his argument he makes use of data offered by c. 37 and book ii. c. 52.

<sup>5</sup> I designate by 9b the part of c. 9 which belongs to the original c. 18\*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Bieliaev, *Priemy*, pp. 235-6.

(p. 169, 22). In the account in c. 1 we find the second custom established, and there is no reference to the older practice (p. 31, 14).<sup>7</sup>

From these observations Bieliaev has justly inferred<sup>8</sup> that the compiler (Constantine) had before him two different sets of material. Series 2 does not represent a number of isolated descriptions which were first collected and arranged by him. It represents an older collection, which he took over, not altering its arrangement, and only inserting occasional notes to point out modifications which had been made since the date when it had been originally compiled. On the other hand series 1 represents the actual practice of Constantine's time; there are no mentions of alteration in procedure. All the chapters of this series are appropriate to the last years of Constantine's reign. The *acta* in cc. 2 *sqq.* contemplate more than one Augusta (Helena and Theophano) and the princesses, Constantine's daughters (*τὰ πορφυρογέννητα*).<sup>9</sup>

§ 21. It will be well to enumerate the proofs which corroborate the inference that series 2 is older than series 1. I have already drawn attention to (1) the passage in c. 23 which records a change of procedure. (2) at the close of c. 10, p. 85, 24, we find the following important text:

ιστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως ἐγένετο ἡ τάξις αὕτη. ἱππεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς κ.τ.λ. . . . καὶ τελείται οὕτως ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

The change here described was made by Leo VI; it follows that the preceding description of the Easter Monday ceremonies con-

<sup>7</sup> This is in the description of the ceremonies of the Nativity of the Virgin, but it is stated that the order for the Annunciation was the same (p. 33, 2).

<sup>8</sup> *Priemy*, pp. xxxvii-viii.

<sup>9</sup> In c. 1, p. 19, the editor has added a note in regard to the *apokombion* presented to the patriarch. It is mutilated, but it clearly tells what is to be done in four different cases, according as there are one, two, three, or more emperors. Bieliaev restores thus (*Priemy*, p. 184): *ιστέον ὅτι ὁφείλει ἔχειν τὸ ἀποκόμβιον χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἑ, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔστιν εἰς βασιλεὺς, δίδωσι τὰς ἑ λίτρας, εἰ δὲ δύο εἰσὶν εἴτε καὶ γ' εἰσὶν μερίζονται αἱ δέκα λίτραι. εἰσὶ δ' εἰ καὶ γ' πλὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ὁφείλει εἶναι ταῦτ' ὅσον τοῦ διδομένου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐξίσης, ὡς συμπληροῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὰς δέκα λίτρας.* Constantine VII had personally experienced five different cases: (1) he had reigned alone, before the elevation of Romanus I and for a few months at the beginning of A.D. 945; (2) he had one colleague, Romanus I, before the elevation of Christophoros; and afterwards Romanus II; (3) he had two colleagues, Romanus I and Christophoros, before the elevation of Stephen and Constantine; (4) he had four colleagues after the elevation of Stephen and Constantine; (5) he had three colleagues after the death of Christophoros. It is clear that in enumerating the various cases he is thinking of what happened in his own experience. Bieliaev's restoration does not include the case of five emperors; why should it be omitted? Further, Bieliaev's *εἰσὶ δ' εἰ καὶ γ'* cannot be right. Reiske gives *ε . . . εἰ καὶ γ'*. I would restore *εἰ δὲ δ' ἢ εἰ καὶ γ'*. Though we might expect *γ'* to precede *δ'*, the motive for the reverse order is furnished by the chronology: there were five *basileis* before there were four.

tained in c. 10 was composed before that change. (3) In the account of the ceremonies on the Sunday after Easter (c. 16) we find a marginal note recording a recent change (p. 98, 22) of the same kind as that noticed in the case of Easter Monday. Instead of proceeding on foot to St. Sophia the emperor rides to the church of the Holy Apostles. A posterior limit of date for the changes is supplied<sup>10</sup> by the 'Kletorologion' of Philotheos (composed A.D. 900); for there we find that in both cases the new order was already in force (pp. 769, 1, and 773, 1). As there can be little doubt that the same emperor, Leo VI, who made the alteration for Easter Monday made the corresponding alteration for the ensuing Sunday, we get as the time limits for these changes 886-900 A.D. (4) The ceremonies of the Feast of Orthodoxy are described in c. 28, but we are told at the end that this description is partly antiquated: *ιστέον ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ τοιοῦτος τύπος ἦν νῦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς κ.τ.λ.* (p. 159, 21).

There are some other indications bearing on the date of the ceremonies of series 2. We learn from a note to c. 19 that the feast of St. Elias *ἐκαινουργήθη ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου*. Candles were lit in front of Basil's icon (p. 118, 1), *ἄπτουσι κηροὺς εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα Βασιλείου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου*. The concluding *troparion* of the lamplight service (*τὸ λυχνικόν*) on the eve of this feast was composed by *Λέων ὁ σοφώτατος καὶ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεὺς*. We can conclude that this chapter dates (in its present form; see below, § 26) from the reign of Leo VI. We can draw the same conclusion in regard to c. 20, containing the ceremonies in commemoration of the dedication of the New Great Church, built by Basil I and dedicated to Christ, the archangel Michael, and Elias.<sup>11</sup> Here too we have a similar note stating that the feast was founded by Basil (p. 118), and in this ceremony also candles are lit before the icon of that emperor (p. 121, 3). These two ceremonies (cc. 19 and 20) were clearly inaugurated at the same time. The principal part of the former was celebrated in the New Great Church. The account of the celebration of the feast of St. Demetrius in c. 21 seems also to have been composed in the reign of Leo VI; a *troparion* composed by *Λέων ὁ σοφώτατος καὶ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεὺς* was recited (p. 123, 23).

§ 22. It does not appear to have been observed that in the ceremony of St. Basil's Day (1 January) we have a date which is precise but ambiguous. C. 24, p. 137, 16: *συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἰνδικτιῶνι γ'.* The third indiction might be A.D. 885 in Basil's reign, or A.D. 900 in Leo's. Bulgarian ambassadors were present, and took part in the celebration; we

<sup>10</sup> Bieliaev, *Priemy*, p. 231.

<sup>11</sup> The church is described by Constantine VII in his 'Life of Basil' (*Theoph. Contin.* p. 325 sqq.)

learn that this was customary since the conversion of Bulgaria (τοὺς φίλους Βουλγάρους τοὺς κατὰ τύπον ἐρχομένους κ.τ.λ., p. 189, 1). The practice must, of course, have been intermitted during the war between Symeon and Leo, but this war was over before A.D. 900, so that this does not help us to decide between the two dates. There is however another *datum* which enables us, I think, to decide for the later year. The client archon of Taro is received by the emperors. He is described as τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρῶ (p. 188, 12) and ὁ μάγιστρος ὁ Ταρωνίτης (p. 189, 18). Now we know that Krikorikios, the archon of Taro, was obliged by Leo VI to come to Constantinople, when the emperor conferred upon him the dignity of *magister*.<sup>12</sup> This Taronite ruler was the first to submit to the power of Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> Hence the chapter cannot be earlier than Leo's reign; and the third indiction must be A.D. 900.

§ 23. The ceremony (c. 17) on Wednesday in the fourth week in Easter (μεσοπεντηκοστή), which was marked by a *προέλευσις* to the church of St. Mokios, also suggests chronological considerations. On the occasion of this ceremony an attempt was made on the life of Leo VI in that church, and in consequence he discontinued this *προέλευσις*.<sup>14</sup> Our sources do not directly furnish the date, though they imply that the incident occurred after the elevation of Nikolaos to the patriarchate (February 901) and before 906.<sup>15</sup> But they furnish data which enable us to fix the year. We are told that Marcus, steward of the church of St. Mokios, attempted to persuade the emperor to revoke his decision to discontinue the ceremony. On Leo's refusal Marcus prophesied that his reign would last ten years: ὁ καὶ γέγονεν· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα ἐνιαυτῶν, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐπλήγη, τετελεύτηκεν.<sup>16</sup> As Leo died in 912 Krug inferred<sup>17</sup> that the attempt on his life occurred in 902. This is simple, but it will hardly do; it does not explain the story. The prophecy was naturally *post eventum*; there is not a word about it in our only contemporary source, the *Vita Euthymii*, where the circumstances of the murderous assault are more fully narrated than elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> The *motif* of the story is at once apparent when we observe that the day of Leo's death

<sup>12</sup> Constantine Porph. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 43, p. 185: εἰσελθόντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κρικορικίου ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκῃ πόλει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρον καὶ στρατηγοῦ Ταρῶν ἀξίᾳ τιμηθέντος. . . . καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευσὶ διατρίψας κ.τ.λ. Thus *De Cer.* c. 24 furnishes a date for the narrative in *De Adm. Imp.* c. 43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 182, 12.

<sup>14</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* p. 365 = *Logothete* (Georg. Mon. Contin., ed. Bonn), pp. 861-2 = Theodosius Melit. pp. 192-3 = Leo Gramm. pp. 275-6. ἔκτοτε δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξεκότη προέλευσις.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. *Vita Euthymii*, ed. De Boor, p. 34, 27; 35, 6; 37, 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* p. 366.

<sup>17</sup> *Kritischer Versuch*, p. 40 sqq. Bieliaev adopts this date (*Priemy*, p. 232).

<sup>18</sup> Cap. 11, p. 35.

was 11 May, and that Mid-Pentecost fell on 11 May in the year 903. This is quite sufficient to fix the date; the odd coincidence explains the origin of the story, in which the dissatisfaction of the clergy of St. Mokios is also reflected. De Boor also arrives at this date for the attempt, though by a somewhat different method.<sup>19</sup> The 'ten' years instead of 'nine' cannot weigh against the consideration adduced. De Boor contemplates the possibility of a scribe's error;<sup>20</sup> but his suggestion that the original source may have had 'in the tenth year' sounds more likely. The day of Leo's demise was the tenth anniversary of the attempt on his life, and the conventional value of the number ten is sufficient to account for the strain here put upon inclusive reckoning.

The account seems to imply that the visit to St. Mokios on Mid-Pentecost was not re-established in Leo's time; and thus we obtain A.D. 903 as a posterior limit of date for c. 17. Bieliaev has ingeniously attempted to determine a prior limit. We have seen that on the first Sunday after Easter a *προέλευσις* to the Holy Apostles was introduced by Leo VI instead of a *προέλευσις* to St. Sophia. But the *προέλευσις* to St. Sophia had itself superseded an older practice. When the account (c. 64) of the imperial visit to the Golden Hippodrome on the Monday after the first Sunday after Easter was composed, the *προέλευσις* on that Sunday was not to St. Sophia but to St. Mokios.<sup>21</sup> There is evidence to which I will refer below (§ 84) that this account cannot be later than the first years of Basil I. Now we know that the church of St. Mokios had partly fallen in and was restored by Basil.<sup>22</sup> Hence Bieliaev argues that it was Basil, the restorer of the church, who transferred the visit to St. Mokios from the Sunday after Easter to Mid-Pentecost, and concludes that the accounts of both these ceremonies, in cc. 16, 17, were drafted in the reign of Basil.<sup>23</sup> The argument in itself does not appear to be cogent. It depends on the assumption that there could not have been *προελεύσεις* to this church on two festivals; and for this assumption there is no evidence. Again, the argument implies that the shattered condition of the church did not hinder the *προέλευσις* on the Sunday after Easter. It must therefore be admitted that it does not afford a ground for denying that the *προέλευσις* at Mid-Pentecost to the same church might be a practice of earlier date than the reign of Basil. Bieliaev's view, therefore, cannot be considered as more than a conjecture; and we shall presently see that it involves difficulties.

<sup>19</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 110-2.

<sup>20</sup> η for ι, on the supposition that the alleged interview between Marcus and Leo occurred shortly before Mid-Pentecost 904. It seems to me that in the case of such a story we miss the mark if we go so far in requiring internal chronological consistency. De Boor bases too much on his discrimination between the date of the attempt and the date (*μετὰ τινὰ καιρὸν*) of the supposed conversation.

<sup>21</sup> C. 64, p. 284.

<sup>22</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* p. 323.

<sup>23</sup> *Priemy*, pp. 232-3.

§ 24. Besides these explicit indications of date, which occur in the Second Series, we have another means of discrimination. We find that some ceremonies contemplate one βασιλεύς only, and others more than one. In the first place this criterion confirms the distinction between the two series. The ceremonies of the first group all alike contemplate the presence of more than one emperor (οἱ δεσπόται). The ceremonies of the second group vary. The greater number of them imply only one emperor (ὁ βασιλεύς), a few make mention of more than one.

Ramnaud, who observed this difference but did not examine the data closely, concluded (in accordance with his general view of the work) that the ceremonies in which only one emperor appears belong to the period when Constantine VII reigned without a colleague, before the coronation of his son Romanus. This period however lasted for little over three months (27 January–6 April 945), and the ceremonies in question are numerous; so that, as Bieliaev observes, this consideration alone is sufficient to rule out Ramnaud's hypothesis.<sup>24</sup>

The distinction between the two groups established by the Russian scholar, and the clear evidence that the second group is older and belongs to the Basil-Leo period, have put the question in a new light. Bieliaev concludes that the oldest descriptions, in which only one emperor appears, belong to the early years of Basil I, but allows that some of them may have been drawn up in the reign of Michael III.<sup>25</sup> But in arguing that the single basileus represents, as a rule, Basil I, he fails to notice that this involves a difficulty very similar to that which he urged himself against the view of Ramnaud. For Basil was not sole reigning emperor for much longer than a year. His predecessor was assassinated in September 867, and in the course of 868 he conferred the imperial dignity on his son Constantine. On 6 January 870 there was a third colleague, his second son, Leo.<sup>26</sup> The hypothesis therefore implies that all these ceremonies (and there are others among the secular ceremonies which must be taken into account) were drafted during the first year of Basil's reign. This of course is not impossible, but the chronological facts at least do not encourage us to prefer the claim of Basil to that of Michael III.<sup>27</sup>

§ 25. I called attention above (§ 23) to the conjecture of Bieliaev that Basil I discontinued the visit to St. Mokios on the

<sup>24</sup> He admits however that some chapters may have been borrowed from older books.

<sup>25</sup> *Priemy*, pp. xl, xli.

<sup>26</sup> *Mansi, Conc.* xvi. 143, 'imperii Basilii quidem ac Constantini a. 3, Leonis vero anno 1, ind. 8 pridie Idus Februarii.'

<sup>27</sup> For notices of ceremonies in the reign of Michael see *De Cer.* 2, cc. 31, 32, 34, 36, 37.



Sunday after Easter, substituted a visit to St. Sophia, and introduced the visit to St. Mokios at Mid-Pentecost; whence he infers that cc. 16 and 17 were drafted in this reign. He has failed to observe that the criterion which is under consideration separates these chapters in time. C. 17 contemplates *δεσπότης*, c. 18 only one *βασιλεύς*. This deprives the conjecture of its plausibility. Its essence is the hypothesis that the two changes are interdependent and simultaneous; and (in default of an express record) the only cogent evidence would be the intimate connexion and synchronism of these two chapters. It is to be noted that Bieliaev's argument implies that St. Mokios was restored in the first year of Basil, since *ex hypothesi* the restoration preceded the new arrangement, and c. 18 must have been drafted before the coronation of Constantine. My conclusion would be that c. 17 belongs either to the reign of Basil (during the greater part of which there were more than one emperor) or to the first half of the reign of Leo VI, and that there is no ground for excluding the reign of Michael III as the possible date of c. 18.

The application of the criterion *βασιλεύς*: *δεσπότης* requires however some precaution. Thus in the short chapter 36, on the *προέλευσις ἐνώσεως ἐκκλησίας*, only one *βασιλεύς* appears. It would nevertheless be indiscreet to infer that it was composed when only one *βασιλεύς* was reigning. This chapter has been judiciously discussed by Bieliaev.<sup>28</sup> The festival of the Henosis of the church was founded to celebrate the end of the troubles consequent upon the fourth marriage of Leo VI, in A.D. 920, before the coronation of Romanus I (not in A.D. 921).<sup>29</sup> Hence it might be supposed that this chapter was composed in 920, between July, the month of the Henosis, and 17 December, the date of the coronation of Romanus, since at that time there was only one emperor, Constantine VII (aged 14). But in that case we should expect a full account of the ceremonies, whereas we get no details in the dozen lines which are here devoted to the subject; and the chapter has all the appearance of a note—introduced by the usual *ιστέον* *ᾧ*—added by the editor to the previous chapter, and not intended to form a distinct chapter itself. This being so, if we press the fact that only one *βασιλεύς* is mentioned, we should have to refer this note to the few months in which Constantine reigned alone in A.D. 945. It is obvious that in the case of such a brief insertion this is unnecessary. We know that Constantine was at work on the *Ceremonies* in the last years of his reign, and in his

<sup>28</sup> Priemy, pp. 233-7.

<sup>29</sup> This follows from the *τόμος τῆς ἐνώσεως*, in the title of which Romanus is still only basileopator (Zachariä, *Ius Graeco-rom.* iii. 228). The chroniclers give A.D. 921. Cp. the *Logothete* (George Mon., ed. Bonn), p. 890; *Theoph. Contin.* p. 398. Cp. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, p. 81.

editorial additions to ceremonies in which only one basileus appeared he might very well have only taken into account the basileus who played the chief part.

But the case is not isolated. The editorial addition at the end of c. 10 mentions only *ὁ βασιλεύς*, but no one would think of pressing it. On the other hand, in the addition to c. 28, where the editor goes into details, the *δεσπότες* come in. I would call attention to this passage as instructive. The editor, having before him a description which contemplates only one basileus, begins in the same key; but once embarked he passes abruptly, even ungrammatically, into the plural (p. 159, 22 *νῦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκτελεῖ μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου καθὼς εἴρηται. εἰς δὲ τὴν εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ βῆμα ἔνδον, καὶ προσκυνοῦσι κ.τ.λ.*) where we have to understand *οἱ δεσπότες*, who are not mentioned till the next sentence.

§ 26. If we analyse Series 2 by means of our criterion and exclude c. 36 as an editorial addition, we find that of the twenty-eight chapters twenty-one contemplate one basileus, namely, 10–15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25–35; and in seven there is mention of more than one—9*b*, 16, 19–21, 24, 37. But it must not be assumed that all the ceremonies of either category were composed at the same time. I will now proceed to show that some chapters in the second category supply data (to which critics have not attended) proving that they belong to different periods.

I would observe in the first place that all the ceremonies in this category (we may leave aside c. 37, which is not a description of a ceremony) are distinguished in one respect from the ceremonies of Series 1. In c. 1 and in nearly all the *acta* which follow it (cc. 2–9*a*) there is explicit mention of the Augustae and the Porphyrogennetoi (e.g. pp. 36, 38, 45, 47, 60). This is a striking note of homogeneity in this series. It corresponds to the date at which we know Constantine VII was engaged on the Ceremonies, c. A.D. 957–9, when there were two Augustae (his wife, Helena, and his son's wife, Theophano) and several purple-born daughters. This is an observation which has not, so far as I know, been made before, but it is important.

In c. 9*b* two emperors are contemplated, *ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς* and *ὁ μικρός* (which simply means the junior colleague). See pp. 64, 24; 68, 22; 69, 1. This in itself would suit Constantine VII and Romanus II, but we find that there was only one Augusta (p. 67, 9), and therefore, if it belonged to this reign, we should have to place it before the marriage of Romanus II and before the composition of Series 1. The data would also suit the reign of Leo VI and Alexander.

In c. 19, on the other hand, there appear more than two emperors (*ὁ μέγας* and *οἱ μικροί*, p. 115, 16). This might suggest

the reign of Romanus I or the last years of Leo VI and Alexander (after the coronation of Constantine Porphyrogennetos); but it also corresponds to the situation in the reign of Basil I (from A.D. 870), and, as the ceremony described was instituted in his reign, we may conclude with a high probability that this was the date of the original draft, though the mention of the troparion composed by Leo, who is described as *ὁ σοφώτατος καὶ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεύς*, points to a redaction in his reign (cp. above, § 21). In c. 20 there is no phrase showing that there were more than two emperors; but, as we saw, it is naturally associated with c. 19, and we shall hardly be wrong in assuming the same date for its composition. It seems probable that the following chapter 21 (festival of St. Demetrius) belongs to the same group, composed in the reign of Basil and edited in the reign of Leo.<sup>30</sup>

Thus of the six chapters under consideration we have found reasons for concluding that 19, 20, 21 were originally drafted in the reign of Basil I, but were rehandled under Leo VI, while 24 (which I showed in § 22 must be connected with A.D. 900) belongs, and 9b may belong, to the reign of Leo; the short chapter 16, as we saw above (§ 21), is prior to A.D. 900.

§ 27. We may turn now to the larger group in Series 2, in which only one basileus appears. We have already seen that c. 10 was written before a certain change (recorded in an editorial note at the end of the chapter) had been made by Leo VI (see above, § 21). We are also furnished with a prior limit. The lighting of candles at the tombs of Saints Nikephoros and Methodios (p. 77, 6) shows that the description is subsequent to June 847, the date of the death of Methodios.<sup>31</sup> As the *motif* of this act was undoubtedly the share which these two patriarchs had taken in the

<sup>30</sup> It seems to me very significant for the chronological association of these three chapters that in all three the *ἐταπεινότης* appears in a part of the ceremony which is the same in all three: 116, 4- = 119, 3- = 122, 4-. We know that Stylianos (afterwards basileopator) was *μικρὸς ἐταπεινότης* under Basil. We may infer, perhaps, that there was also a *μέγας ἐταπεινότης* in this reign. See the chronicles of the 'Logothete' group (George Mon. p. 846, ed. Bonn, and the rest). In c. 21 the additions of the editor are evidently distinct. The original narrative is interrupted by inserted notes at 122, 23; it is resumed at 123, 11, and is once more interrupted at 123, 22, by an insertion, extending to 124, 3.

<sup>31</sup> 14 June 847 (not 846). Different views were held as to the year; but 847 is now established. The *Life of the Hermit Joannikios*, in the collection of Simeon Metaphrastes (Migne, P. G. 116, p. 92), states that Methodios died on 14 June, eight months after the death of Joannikios. An earlier ninth-century *Life of Joannikios*, by the Monk Sabas, was published in 1894 in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Novem. II., and there the exact date of the death of the hermit is stated (p. 433): Nov. 3 or 4, A.M. 6355, indict. 10, i.e. 846. We know otherwise that Methodios was patriarch for four years and three months (*Nicephori Chron.* ed. De Boor, p. 120; four years, *Vita Ignatii*, in Migne, P. G. 117, p. 500, &c. &c.), so that he was appointed in March 843, which agrees with the now accepted date for the First Sunday of Orthodoxy. See on the whole question Vasil'iev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, i. pril. iii. 142-6.

struggle against iconoclasm, there is a presumption that this part of the ceremony was arranged while the memory of the triumph of A.D. 848 was still young; and we may esteem it more probable that the chapter dates from the reign of Michael III (between 848 and 866, the year of Basil's elevation) than from the first year of Basil's reign, which in the case of this ceremony would mean A.D. 868. Similarly it is natural to suppose that the description of the Feast of Orthodoxy, c. 28, was composed in the reign of Michael. We have already seen (§ 23) that the same period is not excluded for c. 17.

In the other chapters we have no chronological clues. But it is important to observe signs that they were not isolated descriptions, but formed part of a series. In c. 12 and in c. 13 there are references to c. 11 (pp. 89, 24; 91, 2); also in cc. 14 and 15 (pp. 91, 3; 96, 23); these five chapters belong together. Again, in c. 26 there are references to c. 23 (pp. 143, 17; 146, 3), and in c. 35 to c. 30 (p. 186, 3). There is nothing to suggest that any of these references is editorial.

§ 28. Taking all the evidence together we may consider it a probable conclusion that the descriptions of ceremonies in Series 2 which imply only one emperor belonged to a ceremonial book composed in the reign of Michael III. Bardas was created Caesar on 19 April 862,<sup>32</sup> and in the following years we might expect that the influential Caesar should have had a special place in some of the ceremonies; and, as this is not the case, we may perhaps—though of course the consideration is by no means conclusive—consider 847 and 862 as the limits of date.

In the reign of Leo VI this collection was re-edited with considerable changes. New ceremonies instituted by Basil I were introduced. The ceremonies on Easter Day (9*b*) and 1 January (24) were rewritten. But most of the older descriptions were retained, notes being added which can generally be distinguished. We can fix the date of this recension to the years 900–903 (cp. §§ 22, 23).

The third stage is the recension of Constantine VII, who included the collection in his ceremonial book without making any further changes except the insertion of additional notes.

§ 29. We have still to consider c. 37, which forms a sort of appendix to the collection, explaining the details of the imperial costume at the various ceremonies which have been described. Bieliaev has drawn attention to two indications which enable us to fix its date.<sup>33</sup> The dress to be worn on Easter Monday (*περιβάλλονται τὰ λευκὰ χρυσᾷ σκαρμάγγια*, p. 188, 3) implies that the

<sup>32</sup> Genesios, p. 97; Hirsch, *Byz. Studien*, 173.

<sup>33</sup> *Priemy*, pp. 220, note, 233, note.

innovation made by Leo VI before A.D. 900 (see above, § 21) had already come into force, for the emperors usually wore skaramangia when they rode in ceremonial processions.<sup>34</sup> Again, we are told that on Mid-Pentecost they wore white (or purple) skaramangia (p. 188, 19), whence we may infer that this was written before A.D. 903, when the proleusis to St. Mokios was discontinued. Thus c. 37 belongs to the second stage and was added to the revised ceremonial book c. 900–903 A.D.

§ 30. The form of c. 37 is to be noticed. It consists of a series of paragraphs, of which each (except the first) begins with the formula *ιστέον ὅτι*. This formula is regularly used in Constantine's treatise *De Administrando Imperio*,<sup>35</sup> and it may fairly be taken as a guide to discriminate Constantine's editorial hand. It is invariably used in the marginal notes, which are clearly due to the Constantinian redaction. But when a paragraph is introduced by *ιστέον ὅτι* or *χρῆ εἰδέναι* it is not necessarily an editorial addition. The words may simply be introduced as a formula of transition for the sake of clearness or to avoid an awkward abruptness. We shall notice hereafter (§ 40) a case in which it can be shown that *χρῆ γινώσκειν* was introduced by the editor for stylistic reasons. The formula in question may of course have been used occasionally in the older documents, but its prevalence in Constantinian literature justifies the presumption that it betokens Constantinian intervention, and we may probably conclude that the marking off of the paragraphs in c. 37 by *ιστέον ὅτι* is due to Constantine.

The formula might be particularly useful in marking parenthetical notes, as in c. 17 (p. 107, 6), where *ιστέον δὲ ὅτι . . . ἀπελατικούς* interrupts the progress of the description.

### III. THE SECULAR CEREMONIES OF BOOK I.

§ 31. The second part of book i. (cc. 38–83), which deals with secular ceremonies, is composite, like the first, consisting of documents of different dates. It is arranged in subjects and may be analysed as follows:—

cc. 38–42: ceremonies (coronations, &c.) connected with members of the imperial house.

cc. 43–59: investitures of officials and dignitaries (beginning with the Caesar and ending with the *protospatharios*).

c. 60: imperial burial ceremony.

c. 61: imperial birthday ceremony.

cc. 62–6: court *levées* or receptions (*δέξιμα*).

cc. 68–73: hippodrome ceremonies (horse races, &c.)

cc. 74–83: various.

<sup>34</sup> *Priemy*, p. 8, note.

<sup>35</sup> See my article on the treatise *De Administrando Imperio*, § 6, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xv., 1906.

It may at first seem awkward in this arrangement that cc. 60, 61 should be separated from cc. 38-42; but it is to be observed that the ceremonies of the first group are of the nature of investitures, with the exception of 42, which gives the acta on the occasion of the birth of a Porphyrogennetos and forms a natural appendix to 41 (the marriage and coronation of an Augusta). Thus the second group, beginning with the investiture of a Caesar (who would generally be a member of the imperial house), follows naturally.

§ 32. It is to be observed that two of the ceremonies of the first group relate to the same occasion. C. 39 is entitled *ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ἐπὶ στεφανώματι βασιλείως*, and c. 41 *ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ἐπὶ στεφνίμῳ αὐγούστης καὶ στεφανώματος*. The ceremony is the marriage of a junior emperor, and the difference in the two cases is that in the former the bride is already an Augusta, in the latter she is crowned Augusta on the day of her marriage. C. 40 gives the ceremony of coronation when it is not connected with her nuptials.

The ceremony described in c. 39 is performed in the church of St. Stephen in the palace; but an editorial note is appended at the end (201, 19) to the effect that this has recently (*ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς*) been changed, and that the nuptial coronation is now celebrated in the church of the Virgin in the Pharos. In c. 41 the nuptial coronation of the emperor and his bride is performed in St. Stephen's, immediately after the imperial coronation of the bride in the Augusteus; and there is no note as to any change.

Now we know that in A.D. 768 (17 December) Irene was crowned in the Augusteus and married to Leo IV in St. Stephen's in Daphne,<sup>36</sup> as ordained in c. 41. Hence Diehl has suggested<sup>37</sup> that c. 41 describes that ceremony, and in support of this he points especially to the mention of the *κόμης τῶν ἀδμησιόνων*. Otherwise we do not find this official mentioned under this name in the ceremonies except in the extracts from sixth-century documents at the end of book i.<sup>38</sup> But he is not 'an institution which has in the tenth century entirely disappeared,' as Diehl says. In the sixth century he was also called *admissionalis* (*ἀδμισσιονόλιος*),<sup>39</sup> and under this name we find him still existing in the tenth century.<sup>40</sup> But Diehl is right in noting the title 'count of the admissions' as a mark of comparative antiquity. It does point to the eighth century, when, though the Byzantine usages and nomenclature which we find in the ninth century had already been for the most part introduced, some old terms were still used which had become obsolete before A.D. 900.

<sup>36</sup> Theophanes, *s.a.*, ed. De Boor, p. 444.

<sup>37</sup> *Études byzantines*, p. 304.

<sup>38</sup> Pp. 386, 387.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 394, 404-5.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p. 23, 8.

There is however a difficulty in considering c. 41, as it stands, a simple description of the ceremony of A.D. 768. It is impossible to suppose that the highest dignitaries of the palace, the Caesars and the *nobilissimus* who had been created earlier in the year, should not have had a part to play in the ceremony. To meet this difficulty I suggest that the same ceremony was used in the tenth century with appropriate modifications. In A.D. 933 Stephen, the son of Romanus I, married Anna, and we are expressly told that the coronation was performed simultaneously with the marriage: ἅμα δὲ τῷ νυμφικῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῇ στέφανος ἐπετίθετο.<sup>41</sup> That this detail should be stated seems significant; it certainly suggests that on recent occasions the two ceremonies had been kept separate, and their combination is therefore recorded as noteworthy. It is obvious that the ceremonial of A.D. 768, suitably modified, might have been followed.<sup>42</sup>

But c. 41 cannot be simply the description of the ceremony of A.D. 933 adapted from that of A.D. 768. For in A.D. 933 there were four basileis, and c. 41 contemplates only two (p. 213, 21). It is however natural to suppose that the combination of the two coronations, which was reintroduced according to my hypothesis in A.D. 933, was practised on the two next occasions of an imperial marriage—namely, the unions of Romanus II with Bertha in A.D. 944 and later with Theophano. In the last case there were only two basileis. My suggestion therefore is that in c. 41 we have a description of the marriage of Romanus and Theophano, based on the old document of A.D. 768. This explains, on the one hand, the appearance of the old-fashioned but still quite intelligible title *κόμης τῶν ἀδμησιόνων*, and, on the other, the non-appearance of the Caesars and *nobilissimus*.

It is obvious that the ceremony of c. 40 was wanted on occasions when there was no question of a marriage, such as the coronation of Theodora, wife of Romanus I (A.D. 921), of Sophia, wife of Christophoros (A.D. 922), of Anna, the daughter of Leo VI, and of Zoe, the same emperor's fourth wife. But it was also necessary in conjunction with that of c. 39, when the coronation and the marriage, though following each other closely, were not combined. This, according to the hypothesis above stated, would have been the case when Constantine VII espoused Helena in A.D. 919. If so, we can at once explain the editorial observation that the *στεφάνωμα*

<sup>41</sup> *Theoph. Contin.* p. 422; Theodosius Melit. (ed. Tafel), p. 231 (*ἐπετίθετο*). Leo Gramm., p. 323, omits *αὐτῇ*. 'George Mon.' has *αὐτῷ* (p. 918), but Stephen had already been emperor since Christmas A.D. 926.

<sup>42</sup> I do not think that we can draw any conclusion as to the ceremonies of the first marriage of Leo VI (*Georg. Mon. Cont.* p. 846: ἡγάγετο δὲ βασιλεὺς Λέωντι τῷ βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα Μαρτινακίου, ἣν καὶ ἔστεψεν, ποιήσας τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῇ Μαгнаύρᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰθ' ἀκουβίτοις) from the fact that the Magnaura is mentioned in c. 41, though not in c. 39, 2 (pp. 231, 7; 232, 22).;

had been transferred from St. Stephen's to the church of the Virgin *ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς*, as due to Constantine himself. Such an expression could be naturally applied to anything that happened in his own reign. C. 39 would therefore go back to an earlier period, perhaps the reign of Basil I or Leo VI.

The acta of the factions in cc. 38, 40, and 42 are homogeneous with the acta of cc. 2-9a, which are related to the reign of Constantine VII; the Augustae and Porphyrogennetoi are acclaimed.

§ 33. In the second group most of the ceremonies contemplate more than one basileus. Of these cc. 43 and 44 must be at once set apart and associated with c. 41. Diehl has shown, from internal evidence, that they describe the proceedings on the occasion when Constantine V conferred the rank of Caesar on his sons Christophoros and Nikephoros, and that of *nobilissimus* on his fourth son, Niketas, on 2 April 768.<sup>43</sup>

Other ceremonies of this group must also be referred to the early Byzantine period. C. 46 consists of two sections, describing the ceremony for the investiture of a *magister*, according as it is performed on a great church festival or on an ordinary Sunday. We note that the Small Consistory is exceptionally designated in both descriptions as the Winter Consistory (pp. 238, 6; 235, 14). The Great Consistory used to be called the Summer Consistory, but the name is not used in any of the later documents; we only find it in a sixth-century ceremony (p. 405, 8).<sup>44</sup> In the second section we find other peculiarities which differentiate it from the ceremonial descriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. We have the mysterious *κόμητες σεκόρων* (p. 235, 3) and the *δομέστικοι πεδίτου* and *σχολάριοι πεδίτου* (p. 236, 8), terms which went out of fashion. This, moreover, is the only place where we find a mention of a locality in the palace called *οἱ Ἰνδοί*.

The following c. 47, on the investiture of a patrician who is strategos of a theme (*στρατηγούντος*), has a remarkable point in common with c. 46. Here too we find *κόμητες σεκόρων*, and also *κανδιδάτοι σεκόρων* and *δομέστικοι σεκόρων* (p. 237, 11).<sup>45</sup> Whatever

<sup>43</sup> For the details see Diehl, *ibid.* 298 *sqq.* Cp. Theophanes, ed. De Boor, *s.a.* p. 443. As another though superfluous item of proof I may point out the appearance of the *referendarius* in c. 44 (p. 225, 17). The *referendarius* is familiar in the sixth century (e.g. in Procopius and *Cod. Just.*) In the *Ceremonies* we find him in an excerpt from Peter the Patrician (p. 390), but I believe that, as the name of a secular official, *βεφερενδάριος* does not occur in the *Ceremonies* (nor in later literature), except here and in two other chapters (cc. 47, 48) which we shall see reason for supposing to be earlier than the ninth century. The ecclesiastical *referendarius* survived; see e.g. *De Cer.* i. 1, p. 9, 3.

<sup>44</sup> On these consistories see Bieliaev, *Obsor*, pp. 118-9.

<sup>45</sup> If *σεκόρων* is right (the emendations proposed by Leichius are impossible) the titles can have been current only for a short time, as they are found nowhere else. The *vela* in c. 47 are (1) *magistri*, (2) *patricians*, (3) *hypatoi*, (4) *comites σεκόρων*, (5) *candidati σεκόρων*, (6) *domestici σεκόρων*, (7) *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων* and *στρατηλάται*. (The



*σεκόρων* means, whether it be sound or corrupt, we are not in the tenth (or the ninth) century; while the general character of the ceremony shows that we are not in the sixth or the seventh. Again, we have the *secundicerius* (p. 238, 2), a name which is borne only by an ecclesiastical official in later times. We have, too, the *referendarius* (pp. 237, 18; 240, 19); see above, p. 431, note 43.

A complete revision of the court ceremonies was necessitated by the reorganisation of the institutions of Diocletian and Constantine, which was carried out early in the eighth century by Leo III. The official world was largely reconstituted; titles and ranks were changed, and the general schemes of the ceremonies must have been altered to meet the new conditions. Though endless alterations in detail were made by succeeding emperors the character of the ceremonial, as then reformed, was permanent. In the first (Isaurian) period, as we might expect, some old terms were still used which afterwards fell into desuetude. Cc. 46 and 47 evidently belong to this period. Both assume two emperors, who will be Leo III and Constantine V, or Constantine V and Leo IV.

C. 48 seems also to belong to the same period. Here too the *referendarius* appears (p. 246, 19), though instead of the *κόμητες σεκόρων* we have the *κόμητες τῶν σχολῶν*. Moreover there is only one *βασιλεύς*. The later part of the ceremony was afterwards modified in details, and a description of the new order is added, under the title *ἀκτολογία τῶν δῆμων κ.τ.λ.* Thus the portion pp. 249, 20-251, 14 is superseded by pp. 251, 16-255, 8. The acclamations of the Augustae and Porphyrogenetoi in the new description seem to point to the reign of Constantine VII.

C. 49 seems to be connected with c. 48. There is only one *basileus*, and there are back references to it (pp. 256, 2, 20; 257, 1). For the other chapters of this group we have no clear indications, except that c. 53 appears to be a tenth-century addition (like the end of c. 48) to c. 52. But the whole group probably formed a series dating from the eighth century. It may be noted that c. 59 presumes c. 58 (p. 275, 3).

§ 34. In the group of chapters relating to *dexima* cc. 62, 63 belong closely together, and are clearly contemporaneous. They contain the acts of the factions on the eve and the day of a dexi-

*ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων* or *στρατηλάτης* was at this time the lowest grade of rank, as in A.D. 900: see Philotheos, p. 708, 7.) In c. 48 we have eight *vela*. The patricians appear in two *vela*: (2) *anthypatoi*, (3) *πατρίκιοι καὶ στρατηγοί*; and the hypatoi are replaced by (4) *ἡ σύγκλητος*. Then we have (5) *comites scholarum*, (6) *candidati*, (7) *domestici*, (8) *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων*. It seems clear therefore that (5) (6) (7) of c. 48 correspond to (4) (5) (6) of c. 47, and both mean the same classes. In the *vela* which were introduced in the ceremony of Easter Day, as described in c. 9 b, we find the same order at the end of the list (p. 61): (6) *comites scholarum*, (7) *imperial candidati*, (8) *domestici scholarum* (9) *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων*.

mon on the anniversary of an emperor's accession. A note is added at the end of c. 63 to the effect that the proceedings are the same for the *dexima*, only that the *apelatikoi*, *trilexia*, and *tetralekta* are to be different, according to the occasion. These chapters seem to have been compiled in their present form in the reign of Constantine VII.<sup>46</sup> C. 65 belongs to the same time.

On the other hand cc. 64, 66 (67), in which there is only one basileus, belong together. When c. 64 was written, the proeleusis on the Monday after the first Sunday after Easter was still to St. Mokios; it was therefore written before A.D. 900 (see above, § 23), and, as only one basileus appears, may probably be ascribed to the reign of Michael III. Now in this chapter (p. 284, 21) we find a reference to another ceremony: *οἱ δὲ πραιπόσιτοι εἰσελθόντες ἐν τῷ τριπέτῳ, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται*. Nothing has been said before to which the last words can refer. We have to turn to c. 66 to discover the passage which must be meant (p. 296, 14): *καὶ ὁ πραιπόσιτος εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ τριπέτῳ κ.τ.λ.* It follows that 66 and 64 were together in one collection, but that when they were received into the compilation of Constantine VII their order was reversed and they were separated by another ceremony (65). C. 67 is an appendix to c. 66 (to which it refers, p. 301, 21), but although the single basileus of 66 is preserved it is clearly an editorial addition (cp. *ιστέον ὅτι* pp. 301, 20; 302, 25).

§ 35. The first chapter (68) of the Hippodrome group is remarkable. It belongs to a period later than the sixth century, but when some of the ministers who were abolished by the Isaurian reorganisation were still in existence. That it is later than the sixth century is shown not only by its general style, which is far nearer to that of the later ceremonies than the style of the documents of the Justinianean age, and specially by the appearance of the ceremonial officer *ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως*, of whom there is no trace in the sixth century, but the praetorian prefect of the east still exists.<sup>47</sup> There is only one basileus. The date might, for instance, be the reign of Justinian II, or the first years of Leo III.<sup>48</sup> It is probable enough that details of the ceremony were altered by subsequent editors, but the reference to the obsolete praetorian prefect was overlooked.

C. 70 presents close resemblances to c. 68, and was to all appearances drafted in its original form at the same time; but all anachronisms seem to have been eliminated.

<sup>46</sup> Reiske's argument in his note, pp. 294-5, depends on the collocation of cc. 62-3 with c. 64. But c. 64 dates from a different period.

<sup>47</sup> P. 306, 11. Here we have the *ιστέον ὅτι* which the later compilers used so constantly.

<sup>48</sup> Even after the coronation of Constantine V (A.D. 720), then an infant, before he was old enough to be present at such ceremonies.

Cc. 72 and 73 (except the *aktologia*) contemplate a single *basileus*, but need not be older than the reign of Michael III.

In the other chapters of this group more *basileis* than one appear, and the *akta* have generally been brought up to the date of Constantine VII. But there is one significant exception which furnishes a definite chronological indication. In c. 69 a section occurs entitled *ἄκτα ἐπὶ μεγιστάνῳ ἀμειράῳ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡττηθέντι καὶ ἀνααιρεθέντι*. These brief *akta* acclaim one *basileus*, but more than one *Augusta*. The two cases in which there were two *Augustae* and only one emperor were in the reigns of Constantine VI and Michael III. But we have no record of the slaying of an emir in the former reign (a success which Theophanes could hardly have omitted to chronicle); and the only serious success gained against the Saracens (the victory of Anusan) occurred, as it happens, just at a moment when there was only one *Augusta*, in the interval between the divorce of Maria and the marriage of Theodote.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand the most conspicuous victory of Roman arms under Michael III was marked by the death of the Saracen leader, Omar ibn-Ubeid-allah-al-Akta, the emir of Melitene, on the battle field.<sup>50</sup> Petronas, the Roman general, was rewarded by receiving the rank of *magister*. This happened in the year A.D. 863. We know that Michael's mother, the empress Theodora, who had been sent to a cloister c. 856 A.D., was afterwards released, but the date of her recovery of freedom was unknown. We may infer that she was released and received formal honours, though she had no political influence, by A.D. 863. The other *Augusta* was Michael's wife, Eudokia, daughter of Dekapolites, of whose life we otherwise know nothing.

It is to be observed that an incident which occurred at a race in the time of Michael III is recorded in c. 71 (p. 358, 11).

It seems probable that c. 69 as a whole appeared in the collection dating from the reign of Michael III, and that it was revised and modified to suit his own time by Constantine VII; only the *akta* celebrating the death of an emir, and seldom required, were allowed to remain unaltered.

§ 36. We obtain an interesting glimpse of the process of bringing up to date in c. 73. In the *akta*, which form the second part of this chapter, the following spring song, in 'political' verses, is to be chanted by the people:—

ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπαπατέλλει,  
χαρὰν, ὑγίειαν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ τὴν εἰημερίαν,  
ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων  
καὶ νίκην θεοῦ ὀρέγοντον κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

<sup>49</sup> Theophanes, s.a. 6287, ed. De Boor, p. 469.

<sup>50</sup> For the details see Vasil'iev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, i. 201.

The second half of the third verse is a syllable too long, and Krumbacher rightly conjectured τῷ βασιλεῖ.<sup>51</sup> But τοῖς βασιλεῦσι is not a mere scribal error; it is clearly a deliberate correction, to harmonise with the rest of the acta, which acclaim more than one basileus. The correction was made mechanically, without regard to the metre; the right correction was τοῖς δεσπόταις, and no doubt was thus actually chanted when there were two or more reigning sovereigns.

In the preceding portion of the chapter, in which only one emperor appears, the first and second verses are quoted with variations (366, 9):

ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ καλὸν πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει,  
φέρον ὑγίειαν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ τὴν εἰρημερίαν.

This is evidently the older form, and it is superior in point of construction. When φέρον is omitted the syntax is loose; the accusatives are in apposition to the cognate object of ἐπανατέλλει. The purpose of the change was to introduce ζῳήν, and, as such a change demands a motivation, I hazard the guess that it might have been introduced after the second marriage of Leo VI, with Zoe, daughter of Stylianos, a guess which those who know how fond the Byzantines were of plays on names will not consider extravagant.

It is important to remark that these verses occur in a description which was drafted at least as early as the reign of Michael III. It shows definitely that political verses were a fully established form of composition in the ninth century. The metre, of course, is of much older origin. Krumbacher has pointed out proverbs, couched in this metre, which go back to the sixth century.<sup>52</sup> But it was possibly in the ninth century that it began to come into vogue, though one would not be surprised if the spring song was much older. I have pointed out that the political metre probably occurs in the interchange of wit between Theophilus and Kasia on the occasion of that emperor's brides-show.<sup>53</sup>

§ 37. The last group, of miscellaneous ceremonies (cc. 74-83), are, for the most part, of high antiquity, as is shown by the number of Latin words and formulae. They were not however obsolete; they were still practised, in their old forms, in the tenth century, and beyond the retention of the Latin phrases there is nothing anachronistic. In the number of emperors and empresses they are all suitable to the reign of Constantine VII.

§ 38. It results from our examination that in the secular ceremonies there are (in contrast with the ecclesiastical) a number

<sup>51</sup> *Gesch. der Bys. Litt.*<sup>2</sup> p. 255.

<sup>52</sup> *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>53</sup> Gibbon, ed. Bury, v. 199, note; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 625, ed. Bonn.

of descriptions which must have been originally drafted in the Isaurian period. Such are 43, 44; probably 41; 46-48; probably 49; and 68 may be even older. And there are others which we may suspect were originally composed in that period, though anomalies, which would reveal the date, have been eliminated. Further, we have noticed indications pointing to the reign of Michael III.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE SOURCES OF BOOK I.

§ 39. We may now sum up the general conclusions which our analysis yields as to the materials which Constantine VII wrought into his first book. He speaks of his work as one of collection (*συναθροισθέντα*) as well as arrangement, and this shows that he did not simply revise one older ceremonial book, but gathered documents from different collections or sources. This evident inference from his own statement was confirmed by the demonstration of Bieliaev that the ecclesiastical ceremonies were derived from two distinct collections.

In the light of our examination of the work we may infer that the following main sources were at the disposal of Constantine: (1) The sixth-century *πολιτικὴ κατάστασις*, from which he transcribed the concluding chapters of the book (84-95), as possessing antiquarian interest. (2) A ceremonial book of the Isaurian period. This period must have witnessed a general revision of court ceremonial, rendered necessary by the reorganisation of the official world. Such a book, required for the use of the court, was probably kept up to date and augmented by new additions by the *praepositus* or the official known as *ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως*, who directed the ceremonies. Thus the descriptions of special ceremonies performed under Constantine V may have been added to a collection which had originated under Leo III. (3) Our evidence points to the reign of Michael III as another stage in the history of the ceremonial. On general grounds this is not unexpected. The restoration of image-worship furnishes a particular motive for revision at that epoch. The ecclesiastical ceremonies arranged under iconoclastic sovrans required alterations. These ceremonies have been so carefully revised or rewritten that we find no indications pointing beyond the reign of Michael III. It is impossible to say whether the secular ceremonies were as carefully worked up. Those descriptions in which we find marks of the Isaurian period may have been taken by Constantine from the Isaurian book and not from the revised book of the ninth century. This latter book received additions and modifications in the reign of Leo VI, and was the actual ceremonial book up to the time of Constantine's compilation, though not in all respects up to date.

It seems to me probable that the *acta* of the demes were not included in this book, but formed (4) a separate collection. For these *acta* specially concerned the officers of the demes, and did not directly concern the palace officials who arranged the general ceremonial. This difference of origin would account for the difference in the arrangement of the feasts of the ecclesiastical year in the *acta* (c. 2 *sqq.*) and in the general ceremonies (see above, § 20). The idea of a ceremonial book including the *acta* would have been due to Constantine VII.<sup>54</sup>

If these conclusions are right we can understand Constantine's precise description of his own editorial work. He found the material, he says, *χύδην τε καὶ σποράδην ἐκτεθειμένα*. It was disordered (*χύδην*), because the ceremonial book had grown, new ceremonies being added as they occurred, and consequently not occupying the place in the general order which their date or their nature would assign to them. It was scattered (*σποράδην*), because the *acta* had to be sought in a different place, and probably the older book of the Isaurian period contained ceremonies (e.g. cc. 43, 44) omitted in its revision. Further, Constantine describes some of his material as *ἐξίτηλα ὄντα ἤδη καὶ τῷ γέροντι χρόνῳ συγγεγρακότα καὶ ὅσον οὐπω πρὸς ἀννπαρξίαν περιστήσεσθαι μέλλοντα*. This probably refers to some of the ancient ceremonies, like the Gothic game (c. 83), in which the Latin formulae were extensively retained, and suggests that they did not occur in the latest ceremonial book (or books). The Gothic game, for instance, may have been preserved in the archives of the demes.

With such materials Constantine had to do much in the way of arrangement to produce *εἰρμός τις καὶ τάξις λελογισμένη*. It is for collection and arrangement that he takes credit. We were able to detect one case where he changed the order in which two ceremonies had stood in a previous edition (above, § 34). There may be another more remarkable instance. In c. 18 (p. 109, 3) we read, *ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . στέφεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πραιποσίτου διὰ τὸ ὅλως ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται ἐμπροσθε βαρβάτων μὴ στέφεσθαι*. Nothing of the kind has been said in the previous pages. But in c. 66 (p. 298, 8) we find, *χρὴ εἶδέναι ὅτι ἐνώπιον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδέποτε στέφεται, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τῆς παραδόσεως φυλαττομένης*. It is possible, however, that this taboo was mentioned in the lost part of c. 9*b*, and therefore we cannot infer with certainty that c. 66 preceded c. 18 in the ninth-century ceremonial book.

Comparative analysis of the details of the ceremonies may discover new criteria for chronological discrimination. The secular ceremonies have still to be examined with the same care which Bieliaev bestowed on the ecclesiastical.

<sup>54</sup> This may also apply to the descriptions of some of the Hippodrome ceremonies.

§ 40. It has been hinted in the foregoing investigation that the editorial activity of Constantine was not confined to collection, selection, arrangement, and the insertion of notes (whether by way of addition or by way of correction), but that he may also have revised the text of some of the ceremonial descriptions which he incorporated. From the nature of the case it would be difficult to prove this directly if we did not accidentally possess the proceedings ἐπὶ προαγωγῇ δημάρχου (in c. 55), in two forms, which follow each other in the manuscript. The duplicate is printed by Reiske in his *Commentary* (p. 289). There are a number of variations which are not due to scribal inaccuracy. The document in the text is more carefully written and shows some superiorities in syntax and style to the duplicate. It also presents curtailments, one or two additions, and a number of small differences not affecting the general sense. I may give one illustration:—

TEXT (p. 271).

χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι προλαμβάνουσιν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ προβληθέντος ὁ αὐτὸς γειτονιάρχης καὶ ὁ νοτάριος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἴστανται μετὰ τοῦ μέρους εὐφημοῦντες τὸν προβληθέντα εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ.

REISKE (p. 290).

πρὸ τοῦ δὲ φθάσαι τὸν δήμαρχον προλαμβάνουσιν ὃ τε γειτονιάρχης καὶ ὁ νοτάριος μετὰ καὶ τοῦ μέρους καὶ ἴστανται καὶ εὐφημοῦσιν τὸν δήμαρχον εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ.

Observe the introduction of the transitional χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν (cp. above, § 30).

The nature of the variations enables us to solve the problem which puzzled Reiske. *Qui factum fuerit ut hoc caput in M bis scriberetur, aliquali tamen cum discrepantia, non exputo.* The solution is that the second is the older draft, the first a revised and improved copy of it, made for insertion in Constantine's compilation. The second was transcribed, through pure carelessness, *instead of another document.* For there is a heading to it: ἀκτολογία τῶν δῆμων ἐπὶ προαγωγῇ δημάρχου. Instead of copying these acta the copyist inadvertently transcribed the discarded draft of the ceremony which he had just written out in its revised form.

This case permits us to infer that others too of the ceremonial descriptions which were taken from older collections into the new compilation have been stylistically and otherwise revised in Constantine's literary workshop. Constantine had his standard of style even for the φράσις καθωμιλημένη, and was, in this respect, as we shall presently see, prepared to be critical.

#### V. THE TREATISE περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων.

§ 41. In the Leipzig MS. the treatise 'De Cerimoniis' begins on f. 21v. Ff. 1-21r contain two short pieces which, though they have nothing to do with the ceremonies, have been strangely and

injudiciously printed as 'Appendix ad librum primum.'<sup>55</sup> The first of these pieces (ff. 1-4r) is clearly a fragment. There is no title or introduction; it opens abruptly with a list of stations (*ἄπληκτα*) at which the emperor halts on a military journey through Asia Minor. The second piece has a full title, and is dedicated by Constantine to his son Romanus. It is concerned with the arrangements for military expeditions, in which the emperor personally takes part.

The author's prefatory remarks to this treatise are interesting. He caused a search to be made in the palace for memoranda bearing on the subject. He found none, but subsequently (*ὅψε καὶ μόλις*) he discovered the existence of a work, in the monastery of Sigriane, by Leo Katakylas,<sup>56</sup> a *magister* who became a monk. It was written by order of Leo VI. Paying a tribute to the writer's piety, Constantine is severe upon his want of literary education (*παιδεία Ἑλληνική*) and his barbarous style. Nor was Leo's work complete. It hardly contained a third of the information which Constantine promises. Constantine also makes the important observation that the *τάξις τε καὶ ἀκολουθία* observed on these expeditions was handed down from the Isaurian period.<sup>57</sup>

Now the subject of this treatise and that of the fragment which precedes it are precisely the same. The theme is thus stated by Constantine in his preface (456, 6): *ἀναγκαιότερον δὲ τί ἄλλο γένοιτο πολεμικῆς εὐτολμίας καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων παλαιᾶς εὐταξίας ἣν ἐν πολέμοις εἶχον τὸ πρότερον βασιλικοῖς ταξειδίοις κατὰστασιν*; the headings of the two sections contained in the fragment are: *ὑπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων καὶ ὑπόμνησις τῶν ἀπλήκτων*, and *ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξιδεύειν*. It is impossible to suppose that we have to do with two distinct works. The fragment is evidently part, or was intended to form part, of the treatise which follows it. Either some of the pages of the original manuscript got misplaced or, as is much more probable, these two sections had been prepared for incorporation in the treatise but had not been incorporated, and were found in physical juxtaposition with it by that redactor, who is responsible for the form in which the 'De Cerimoniis' has come down. We have therefore to do with a single treatise, which might be called *περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων*, and which in histories of literature should be dissociated from the work on the ceremonies and hold a distinct place of its own.      J. B. BURY.

<sup>55</sup> This misled Rambaud (*op. cit.* p. 129) into supposing that the two books were separated 'par deux appendices' in the MS. Krumbacher (*Gesch. der Bys. Litt.*), who seldom overlooks anything, has overlooked the so-called Appendix.

<sup>56</sup> For his career see De Boor, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 140-2.

<sup>57</sup> The treatise contains one section (pp. 495-8) which is evidently transcribed from a document of the time of Justinian. It refers to an entry of that emperor into the capital (in A.M. 6033). We are here in the days of Persian wars, and consistorian counts, and tribunes, and *protectores*.



# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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*Roman Emperors from Basil II  
to Isaac Komnénos*

THE eleventh century is the turning point of the middle ages ; in it new currents are beginning to flow and old currents are beginning to ebb. It was in the eleventh century that Normans founded their kingdom in southern Europe and conquered England ; it was in the eleventh century that Gregory VII introduced a new spirit into western Christendom ; it was in the eleventh century that the crusade movement began. The mere mention of the crusades, Gregory VII, and the Normans sufficiently indicates the new currents that flowed in western Europe. A change was taking place at the same time in the eastern Roman empire, a change which implied and led to its decline ; and if we do not misunderstand the system of medieval Europe, unduly isolating the Byzantine world from the occidental kingdoms as if they did not act and react upon one another, we must assume that the new tide in the west was causally, or rather reciprocally—for reciprocity is generally the right category in history—connected with the ebb in the east. The most obvious indication of this connexion is the commercial change which resulted in the transference of trade from the Greeks, who had hitherto almost monopolised it, to the rising republics of Italy. The chief external event in the eastern empire was the succession of the house of Komnénos to the house of Basil the Macedonian, whose descendants had worn the purple for two centuries. This change of dynasty meant the triumph and preponderance of the wealthy aristocratic families of Asia Minor ; it was the outward sign of a great inward change which had been taking place since the reign of Basil II. The final separation of the Greek and Latin churches occurred at this period (1054) ; but as they were really alienated long before, this is an event of only second-rate importance. Of much more interest are the projects of the patriarch Kérularios to make the church independent of the state, in fact to do what Hildebrand did in the west. Another movement of the time which deserves attention is the revival of literature under the auspices of Michael Psellos, who reclaimed Greek prose from the barbarism into which it was falling.

There is a plentiful lack of contemporary authority for the last

years of the Macedonian dynasty. For a few events at the beginning of the reign of Basil II (976–1025) we have a page or two of a contemporary author, Leo Diakonos; but for the rest of his long reign and for that of his brother Constantine VIII we have only the later chronographers, Kedrénos and Zónaras. For the following emperors, until the accession of Isaac Komnénos, Finlay's only Greek sources were Kedrénos and Zónaras, for we need hardly take into account such writers as Glykas or Manassès. But since Finlay wrote his history the labours of M. Constantine Sathas have rendered a new source accessible, the contemporary history of Michael Psellos.<sup>1</sup> This history was so diligently utilised by Zónaras that the original does not supply us with any new facts of great importance; but nevertheless it is invaluable, as we learn a large number of interesting details, not to mention that the work of a contemporary has always a flavour which no compilation can have. There may be sufficient foundation for the paradoxical statement of M. Amédée Thierry that details are the soul of history, to warrant us in collecting and recording the new points which may be gleaned from Psellos. Accordingly, as the subject has not been worked up, I propose to give a sketch of Byzantine history from Basil II to the deposition of Michael VI, confining myself almost entirely to what Psellos has recorded, and consequently omitting altogether some important wars of which Finlay, reproducing Kedrénos and Zónaras, has given so full an account, that a repetition here seems unnecessary. It will be advisable at the outset to say something more of Psellos and the nature of his history, and also to notice briefly our other authorities.

§ 1. *Sources*.—The history of Psellos is a *ἑκατονταετηρίς*; it embraces a period of one hundred years, beginning with the accession of Basil II (976) and ending with the accession of Nikêphoros Botaneiatês (1077). For the first three reigns (of Basil, Constantine, and Rômanos) it is a short and meagre record of things which he had not witnessed, though he had doubtless heard many facts on first-hand authority, but with the accession of Michael IV in 1034 it becomes more complete and detailed, and at the same time assumes the value of contemporary history. In order to understand and appreciate its value we must give a short outline of the author's career.<sup>2</sup>

He was born in 1018, and thus at the accession of Michael the Paphlagonian was sixteen years old. He had seen the emperor

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Græca Medii Ævi*; vol. iv. *Pselli Historia Byzantina et alia opuscula* (1874). The opuscula are three *ἑντράφιοι λόγοι*, on Michael Kêrularios, Constantine Leichudês, and Joannes Xiphilinos, three personages of whom we shall have more to say. Vol. v. of this series contains other works of Psellos, including a large collection of letters.

<sup>2</sup> M. Sathas has prefaced his edition with a full biographical account of Psellos. His original name was Constantine; he was renamed Michael when he took the monastic vows. How little is generally known of Psellos and his works is apparent in the short notice in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Rômanos in a public procession not long before his death. Thus for the reign of Rômanos he may be considered a contemporary writer in the same sense that Cicero's authority might be called contemporary for the history of Livius Drusus. His father's fathers had been consuls and patricians; his mother was of good family and herself a clever woman who used to assist her son, when a boy, in preparing his lessons. He studied rhetoric and philosophy, giving the preference to the latter, and in his studies 'chummed' with an older friend, Joannēs Xiphilinos, whom he assisted in philosophy and in return received help in jurisprudence. Under Michael IV he was appointed judge at Philadelphia, and in the short reign of Michael V held the post of under-secretary (*ὑπογραμματεὺς*), through the influence probably of his friend Constantine Leichudēs, whom that emperor appointed chief minister. Leichudēs did not fall with his master; Constantine IX retained his services, and Psellos won the marked affection of that impressionable sovereign and became his trusted confidant, holding the post of secretary. Constantine was induced to refound, in a sort of manner, the university of Constantinople, and Psellos filled the chair of philosophy. Towards the end of this reign Leichudēs was deposed, and Psellos, fearing, as he tells us, the weathercock nature of his master, determined to embrace the spiritual life and retired to a monastery, in spite of the emperor's expressed wishes. Theodōra recalled him to court after Constantine's death, and he took part in the administration of Michael VI. He was one of the embassy sent by that monarch with proposals to Isaac Komnēnos, under whose sovereignty he succeeded Leichudēs as prime minister. We need not touch on his political conduct in the following reigns, his education of Michael VII, and his relations to Rômanos Diogenēs, as this paper will not go further than the accession of Isaac.

From this brief sketch we may see that the memoirs of Psellos as a distinguished contemporary who was initiated in the arcana (*ἀπόρρητα*) of political events are of the highest value. Through his artificial, often irritatingly artificial, rhetorical style,<sup>3</sup> his descriptions of the emperors and empresses whom he knew give an impression of reality and life. He presents us with pictures of men and women of the time more vivid than we could ever get from writers like Zónaras. He had seen Rômanos like a living corpse, when a boy of sixteen; he had seen George Maniakēs, standing ten feet high, and looked up at him as at a pillar or a mountain; he had stood by the side of Constantine Monomachos when he witnessed the sea-fight with the Russians; he had stood by his side when an arrow

<sup>3</sup> As examples I may quote *ὡς εὐθὺς τὸ κρᾶτος διαδεχόμενον τοῦ κρατοῦντος τῇ κρατήσαντι πᾶθει καταναλωθέντος*, where *κρατήσαντι* is chosen as a verbal antithesis to *κρᾶτος ἀκρατοῦντος* (p. 61). Again (p. 131), *ὁ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπεθασάρισε*.

narrowly missed him during the siege of Tornikios; he knew by personal experience that the queen Sklêraina was an excellent listener; he was an intimate friend of the first minister Leichudês and the great patriarch Michael Kêrularios; he was first minister himself.

In the rather pretentious preface to his chronography Joannês Skylitzês, whom George Kedrênos copies, enumerates some of his predecessors in the field of history. He remarks of Psellos and others that they do not give accurate details, but 'merely record a list of the emperors, stating who succeeded whom, and nothing more.'<sup>4</sup> In regard to Psellos this criticism is in one way entirely false; in another way it expresses in exaggerated terms a certain truth. The events which Psellos does describe he describes in far more elaborate detail than Kedrênos himself, who gives us the dry bones; in this respect the criticism is false. But, on the other hand, many events of importance are not even mentioned by Psellos, as he tells us plainly himself; and so far the criticism has an element of truth. Skylitzês prides himself on giving us all, even the smallest, bones; Psellos gives us a selection of bones and flesh together. Psellos is quite aware of this, as we may see from a passage in which he states the scope and nature of his history. He does not attempt to describe, he says, all events in order and each in detail from its beginning to its conclusion, nor to enumerate every military engagement however trifling, and the other things which *accurate* historians describe.<sup>5</sup> He aims at a succinct relation, not at an ambitious history; and he therefore omits many things worthy of record, and, instead of dividing his history chronologically, simply dictates the most critical events and what most impressed itself on his recollection. 'I do not note in detail every event, for it is my design to follow a middle course between the ancient historians of old Rome on the one hand, and our modern chronographers on the other, avoiding the roundabout flow of the former and not imitating the bald conciseness of the latter, so that my narration may neither weary the reader nor omit capital events.'

Thus Psellos' intention was to compose readable memoirs in contrast to the prevailing style of Byzantine history, which he considered dry and wearisome. By his neglect of chronology he completely breaks through the stereotyped method. There was

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπεχείρησαν οἷον ὁ Σικελιώτης καὶ ὁ ὑπέρτιμος Ψελλὸς καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν τούτοις· ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἀποπεπτώκασιν ἀπαριθμησιν μόνην ποιησάμενοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ διδόντες τίς μετὰ τίνα γέγονεν ἐγκρατὴς καὶ πλεον οὐδέν (ed. Bonn, p. 2). The word ἀκριβεία means accurate fulness of detail, not accuracy in our sense of trustworthiness. Both Skylitzês and Psellos might be called fond of detail, for 'detail' is ambiguous. The remark already quoted from Thierry, *Les détails sont l'âme de l'histoire*, refers to details in the sense in which we should use the word of Psellos.

<sup>5</sup> See his history, pp. 135, 136. τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν συγγραφέων would include Skylitzês.

consequently a sort of opposition between Psellos and contemporary historians like Joannēs Skylitzēs, who held fast by the old method ; there were, in fact, two historical schools—one instituted by Psellos, whose influence on historiography in method as well as in style was permanent, inasmuch as the best historians of the following centuries adopted a midway method.

While he often omits important facts, such as the Patzinak war in the reign of Constantine IX, he devotes pages to minor details of court life which he had personally observed, and he deems it necessary to apologise for such digressions.<sup>6</sup> He says he will not describe the grief exhibited by Constantine when his queen Sklēraina died, for such a description would be a descent to triviality (*σμικρολογεῖσθαι καὶ οἶον λεπτολογεῖν*). 'But if I myself am sometimes guilty of that against which I warn writers of history to guard, it is no wonder, for the notion of history is not so absolutely bounded, so shaved off on every side, as not to leave some loopholes and passages for egress ; but if anything take advantage of a loophole, the historian must quickly recall the waif, and must arrange his matter so as to bear on the general theme, considering all else as merely secondary.'

His general view of history is, that it is directed by providence.<sup>7</sup> 'I am wont to refer to the *pronoia* of the Deity the arrangement of the larger events of history, indeed to attach to his prevision all events that do not arise from the perversion of our human nature.' Thus, as an orthodox member of the church, he believed in a combination of design and freewill.

Michael Attaleiatēs was a younger contemporary of Psellos.<sup>8</sup> He dedicates his history to the emperor Nikēphoros Botaneiatēs, the predecessor of the great Alexios, and beginning with Michael IV gives a short eclectic sketch of the years 1034–1057, somewhat similar in compass, though different in style, to the sketch given by Psellos of the reigns of Basil, Constantine VIII, and Rōmanos. His history becomes more complete with the revolt of Komnēnos as that of Psellos with the accession of Michael IV. Although slight, the preliminary sketch is valuable, for Attaleiatēs was a man superior in judgment and insight to the average Byzantine chronographer, and we shall have occasion to refer to it. He tells us in his introductory remarks that though he was distracted with official business which occupied him every hour of the day, it seemed good to him to undertake yet an additional labour and 'digest a few things in a short and simple style—as is meet for historians, if the subject be not agonistic and therefore demanding an artificial method, but

<sup>6</sup> P. 134.

<sup>7</sup> P. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Besides his history, published in the Bonn series of *Scriptores Byzantini*, there is also extant his *didaktis*, or will, containing regulations for a charitable institution (*πτωχοτροφεῖον*) which he founded ; it has been published in the first volume of Sathas' *Bibliotheca Græca Medii Ævi*.

historical and superior to irrelevant prolixity—not concerning what I received from others by hearsay, but concerning what I myself witnessed and beheld, in order that things worthy of narrative may not be overwhelmed in the profundities of oblivion by the lapse of time.’ It seems to me evident that this pointed remark in regard to style is intended as a criticism on Psellos, whose florid and elaborate style Attaleiatès thought unsuitable for history, and himself followed the unadorned baldness of the older chronographers.

Finlay did not know the history of Attaleiatès—there is not a single reference to it in his ‘History of Greece;’ and it seems to have also escaped the notice of his learned editor.<sup>9</sup>

Joannès Skylitzès, also known as Thrakèsios,<sup>10</sup> was a contemporary of Attaleiatès and Psellos, and wrote a history of the eastern Roman empire from 811 to 1081. He held the offices of kuropalatès, drungarios of the guards, and protovestiarios, but we do not hear that he had any political influence. His history was plagiarised in a wholesale manner by George Kedrénos, who probably lived at the close of the century and wrote a universal history from the foundation of the world to the accession of Isaac Komnénos. The latter part of Skylitzès’ history (1057–1081) is printed at the end of the Bonn edition of Kedrénos. A Latin translation of the whole work of Skylitzès, by J. B. Gabius, was published at Venice in 1570. Between Skylitzès and Attaleiatès there are very close resemblances, and I agree with Hertzberg that Skylitzès followed Attaleiatès. His criticism on Psellos was mentioned above.

Joannès Zónaras lived in the first half of the twelfth century, and probably finished his ‘Epitome of Histories’ before 1150. He is so much superior in calibre to writers like Theophanès and Kedrénos that Hertzberg ranked him not among chronographers but among historians. From this judgment, however, Hirsch dissents.<sup>11</sup> Zónaras complains at the beginning of his work of lack of books, and L. Dindorf, who examined carefully the sources of the earlier part of the work, concluded that his library was really very scanty. Whatever materials he lacked, he did not lack the history of Joannès Skylitzès, which he quotes, nor that of Psellos, which he

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Tozer mentions in his valuable notes almost every source of which Finlay was not aware. Besides Attaleiatès, I have noticed the omission of Kritobulos, the historian of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, who imitates Thukydides. Whereas the other Greek historians, Phrantzès, Dukas, and Chalkokondylès, are patriots, Kritobulos is unique as writing in the Turkish interest; his hero is Mohammed.

<sup>10</sup> Called Thrakèsios by Kedrénos (i. 5) and Zónaras (iv. 196.) He was probably a native of the Thrakèsian theme.

<sup>11</sup> F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, p. 391: *Zonaras bemüht sich allerdings, wie wir gesehen, an einigen Stellen, verschiedenartige Berichte zu verarbeiten, aber er verfährt dabei doch mit wenig Kritik.* Hirsch gives a very good account of Skylitzès. For the ninth and for the first half of the tenth century Hirsch’s book is invaluable.



also refers to and has utilised very largely, reproducing it even verbally, and constantly adopting from it expressions with a difference. It will not be amiss to give one or two examples, as Zónaras, whose judiciousness was recognised by Gibbon, deserves attention, and the sources of the later portion of his history have not been adequately investigated.

*Psellos.*

P. 36: ἐλπίσας τε ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν δημόσιον ἐπιμελείας τὰ ἀπολωλότα αὐτῷ ἐν ἴσῳ ἀνακτήσασθαι μέτρῳ πράκτωρ μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει . . . τοὺς παῖδας λογιστεύων πικρῶς.

P. 12: ἐντεῦθεν ἕτερος ἀνθ' ἐτέρου ὁ βασιλεὺς γίνεται . . . ὑποπτος οὖν εἰς πάντας ὥπτο καὶ σοβαρὸς τὴν ὄφρυν τὰς τε φρένας ὑποκαθήμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι εὐσοργος καὶ βαρύμηνις.

P. 14: ἀθυμίας τε ἐνεπίπλατο . . . νέφους τὴν κεφαλὴν πληρωθεὶς . . . τὰ μέλη παραλυθεὶς καὶ νεκρὸς ἔμψυχος γεγονὼς μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπέρρηξε τὴν ψυχὴν.

*Zónaras.<sup>12</sup>*

P. 181: ἵνα γὰρ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἰσοστάσια κτήσῃται πράκτωρ ἀντὶ κρατοῦντος ἐγένετο καὶ πικρὸς λογιστής.

P. 115: ὁ δὲ ἀλλοιότερος ἦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον· σοβαρὸς τε γὰρ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸ ἥθος ὑποκαθήμενος καὶ πάντας ὑπώπτει καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτύγγανεν ἀπαραίτητος.

P. 115: ὅθεν ἐκείνος διὰ ταῦτα νέφει περισχεθεὶς ἀθυμίας παρεῖτο τὰ μέλη καὶ ἔμπνους ὥπτο νεκρὸς καὶ βραχὺ τι διαλιπὼν οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον ἐξέλειπεν.

The later chroniclers, Glykas, Ephraem, Joel, and Constantine Manassés,<sup>13</sup> have no independent value. Events in 'Italia'—by which Byzantine writers meant Calabria and Longibardia—and their Latin historians do not concern us here; but the chronicler, Lupus Protospata, it may be mentioned, is occasionally useful in supplying us with a date, and for the separation of the Greek and Latin churches, of which the Greek historians are silent, there is an important though short chapter in Leo of Ostia, the historian of Monte Casino.

§ 2. *Basil II and Constantine VIII.*—It is usual to say that Basil succeeded John Tzimiskēs, and was succeeded by his brother Constantine. But, strictly speaking, Basil and Constantine were joint emperors, although practically Basil was sole sovereign, as his brother was a man of pleasure who, preferring horse-racing to state business, and a lady's chamber to the council-room, took no part in the administration. On their accession (976) Basil was twenty years old and Constantine seventeen, and it struck Psellos

<sup>12</sup> The pages of Zónaras referred to are those of the 4th vol. of L. Dindorf's ed. (1871).

<sup>13</sup> Manassés writes occasionally a good 'political' verse.

as a very remarkable and praiseworthy act of the latter to resign to his abler brother all claim to a share in the imperial power.

Basil was like Henry V of England. Wild and addicted to pleasure before and for some years after his accession, he suddenly exhibited a complete change of character, and proved an energetic and brilliant monarch. Psellos was acquainted with men who had seen him. 'Most of our contemporaries,' he says, 'who saw the emperor Basil regarded him as a tart man, abrupt and rough in character, prone to anger and obstinate, abstemious in his mode of life, and abhorring all delicate living. But, as I heard from historians of his time, he was not such at first, but having been dissolute and luxurious in his youth, he changed and became serious, for circumstances acted on his nature like an astringent; the loose strings were stretched and the gaps closed in. At first he was wont to indulge openly in wild revels, he used to engage in amours, he loved conviviality; but after the two revolts of Sklêros and the revolt of Phôkas and other insurrections, he left the shores of luxury with full sail, and devoted himself to the serious things of life.'

The first overt act which manifested the inward change in Basil's character was the deposition and banishment of the eunuch Basileios, who was chamberlain and 'president of the senate,' a title which had been instituted for him by Nikêphoros Phôkas. Basileios was a half-brother of the emperor, who, feeling himself incompetent and disinclined through youth and inexperience to undertake the administration, abandoned the reins entirely to his namesake, who was personally very much attached to him. The stature, form, and bearing of the eunuch were imperial, and as John Tzimiskês had vested the civil government altogether in his hands, he was experienced in political affairs. Basil gave him 'voice and hand' over all, military as well as civil, affairs; and thus the chamberlain was like an athlete performing while the emperor stood by as a spectator, not intending, however, to place a crown on his head, but in order to learn a lesson, and at some future time perform in like manner himself. The act by which he loosed the leading-strings and ceased to play a secondary part in the empire took place, according to Psellos, soon after the suppression of the rebellion of Bardas Phôkas in 989. If this be correct, the power of Basileios had lasted for thirteen years. But Kedrênos (Skylitzês), the 'accurate' historian, places his fall some years sooner—namely, after the subjugation of the first rising of Bardas Sklêros. Finlay, accepting the statement of Kedrênos, assigns the change in Basil's policy as the cause of the discontent and revolt of Phôkas. Psellos assigns no reason for it except that as the relation of the emperor Nikêphoros he felt he had a claim to the throne, and he states clearly that the fall of the eunuch was

subsequent to the revolt of Phōkas. Having narrated that pretender's strange death and how his head was brought to Basil, he writes, 'From this time forward the emperor becomes a different person . . . he became suspicious, haughty, reserved, and wrathful. Nor did he wish any longer to leave the administration to his chamberlain, but was ungracious to him,' &c.<sup>14</sup> By the use of the pluperfect tense<sup>15</sup> Zōnaras avoids committing himself to either opinion. He places his description of the change in Basil and the fall of the eunuch after the revolt of Phōkas, following herein the order of Psellos; but by his mode of expression, 'he *had become* haughty,' &c., he leaves it undetermined at what time the change took place.

Whatever the date may have been, Basil did not concern himself to smooth the way for the removal of his minister from office. He managed the matter with brutal simplicity, causing him to embark in a ship which carried him to exile. He then proceeded to examine all the acts of his ministry, and undid those which seemed aimed at personal display or private patronage, professing ignorance of them. He even dismantled the splendid monastery which the president, who was immensely wealthy, had built; and so, as he said, turned the refectory into a reflectory, because the monks would be obliged henceforward to reflect seriously how to obtain the necessaries of life.<sup>16</sup> Basileios was utterly overwhelmed with grief at this unkind treatment, and with disappointment at having to say a long farewell to all his greatness. His noble form became a living corpse, a literal monument of the sudden change of fortune, and he soon died. At the same time Basil began to apprehend the difficulties that attend on an emperor's office, and the seriousness of his position so impressed him that he became quite ascetic, abstaining from all good cheer, wearing no ornaments on his person, not even a chain on his neck, nor a diadem on his head, nor a chlamys bordered with purple; superfluous rings he put away from him, and eschewed many colours in his clothes. He was completely preoccupied with the problem how to make all the acts of his rule concur 'to produce an imperial harmony.'<sup>17</sup>

The second revolt of Sklēros followed hard upon the death of Phōkas, his old rival. In regard to this revolt Psellos states a fact which Skylitzēs<sup>18</sup> seems not to have known or not to have believed,

<sup>14</sup> P. 12.<sup>15</sup> ἐγεγόνει, p. 115.<sup>16</sup> P. 13 : οὐκ ἀνγεί ἔχρισ οὐ φροντιστήριον, ἰδεῖν χαριεντισμένους εἰπεῖν, τὸ μοναστήριον δέωρακε, διὰ φροντίδος τιθεμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πορίσαιντο.<sup>17</sup> ὅπως ἂν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς ἁρμονίαν βασιλικὴν συμβιβάσσειε.<sup>18</sup> Kedrēnos, ii. p. 446 : ἔρτι δὲ τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἀποθανόντος κατὰ τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον μῆνα τῆς δευτέρας ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ζυγζ' ἔτους καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστασίας διαλυθείσης ἀδείας λαβόμενος ὁ Σκληρὸς πάλιν ἀνελάμβανε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐσωμάσκει ἀποστασίαν. ὅπερ πυθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς γράμμασι παρήνει, κ.τ.λ. . . . τοῖς τοῖς γράμμασι μαλαχθεῖς . . . κατατίθεται τὰ πᾶσα.

and Zónaras does not record. From their narratives we should conclude that the hostility of Sklêros was only momentary, and that his reconciliation with Basil took place almost immediately, certainly before the end of the year 989. But Psellos tells us that his rebellion, which began in the summer of that year, lasted many years longer. He did not venture on an engagement with the imperial troops, but strengthened and increased his army and cut off the traffic and means of communication with the capital, and intercepted supplies. His army was devoted to him—won by his kindness and good fellowship; he used to call each soldier by his name, eat at the same table with his men, and share the same wine-bowl. But he felt age with stealing steps creeping over his frame, and at the last listened to an embassy of Basil, who seems to have been at the end of his wit to disembarass himself of the opposition of the able general.

Now the manner in which Psellos states the duration of the hostility of Sklêros is peculiar.<sup>19</sup> 'This tyranny which began in summer did not cease in the autumn, nor was it circumscribed even by the limit of a year, but for many years the mischief surged.' It is, I think, a legitimate conjecture that the negative clauses refer to, and are intended to refute, a prevailing view, which was shared by Skylitzês, and which Psellos considered an historical error. If this be so, the opposition between the historical schools was not confined to style and method.

Zónaras took from Psellos his account of the meeting between Basil and Sklêros, but he omitted what is perhaps the most interesting point about it—the advice which the aged, now blind, commander gave to the young emperor, who asked him as a general for his opinion as to the best policy for maintaining absolute power and avoiding rebellions. The advice which he gave, says Psellos, was not strategic, but unprincipled (*πανούργος*)—as we should say, Machiavellian. It was to do away with too exalted offices, to allow no military officer to be too rich, to wear them out with unjust exactions, so that their private affairs may claim all their attention, not to introduce a wife into the palace, to be to none easy to deal with, and to be chary of imparting to others his secret resolves.

This advice of a man who knew the condition of the Roman empire well indicates clearly the danger which was threatening the Macedonian dynasty, and, staved off for a time by Basil's personal vigour, finally overthrew it—the power of the wealthy Asiatic aristocrats, who by their wealth could convert the imperial regiments which they commanded into private armies of their own.

Basil's subsequent policy was conceived fully in the spirit of his old opponent's advice. The law of *allêlengyon*, by which the rich taxpayers of a district were bound to make up the deficiencies of

<sup>19</sup> *History*, p. 15 . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τοῦτ' διεκυμάνετο κακόν.

the poorer, is an instance of the 'unjust exactions.' The loyalty of terror, and not the loyalty of good-will, was what he wished to secure. He managed the whole administration himself, and as he grew older experience made him quite independent of the wisdom of councillors. As Psellos expresses his policy of imperial absolutism, he steered the state not according to enacted laws, but according to the unwritten laws of his own well-constituted nature; and in this spirit he paid no attention to educated men, but utterly looked down on them. This was a feature of Basil's reign; culture was not patronised, but discouraged and scorned by the emperor.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless we are told that there was a large number of philosophers and rhetoricians in those days. On which fact, which strikes him as curious, Psellos makes the comment that to these men culture was an end in itself, not a mere means to favour or money, 'whereas now money is the end.'

Psellos does not enter on the subject of Basil's campaigns, but he has some interesting remarks on his military system. One of his peculiarities was to pay no attention to the traditional habit of limiting the season of campaigns. It was usual to set forth in the middle of spring and retire before the extreme heat began. Basil, with 'adamantine' indifference, despised heat and defied cold when he had an object in view, and like other great generals made season wait on occasion. His great principle in tactics was to preserve the ranks unbroken; he considered that this was the one secret which would save the Greek phalanxes from rout, and he was punctilious in punishing that too eager bravery which led a man to step out before his fellows or leave his column. When soldiers on one occasion openly grumbled at his mode of battle, he calmly replied with a smile, 'There is no other means by which we can cease waging war.'

His personal appearance is minutely described by Psellos. His stature was rather under-sized, but not disproportionate; on horseback he looked incomparable, like the statue of a master sculptor, presenting inflexibly the same pose both uphill and downhill. His face was an exact circle; his forehead neither retreated nor protruded. His eyes were bright and flashing, and the brow, avoiding the extremes of a feminine straight line and the grim aspect lent by an overhanging shape, expressed his innate pride. He wore a thick beard and whiskers which he was fond of twirling, particularly when he was angry or perplexed in thought; he had also the habit of sticking out his elbow and resting his fingers on his hips. He

<sup>20</sup> This feature should doubtless be connected with the policy of depressing the nobility and higher classes who represented the culture of the empire. The education of Basil's nieces Zôê and Theodôra was completely neglected. His secretaries were obscure men of little training, but he wrote his despatches in so simple and unvarnished a style that no great ability was required (p. 19).

spoke in short abrupt sentences, more like a peasant than a gentleman, and when he indulged in laughter his whole frame assisted in the operation.

§ 3. *Constantine VIII.*—On Basil's death in 1025 his brother and sleeping colleague, if we may use the expression, at the advanced age of seventy became ruler of the empire. His chief achievement was to spend the immense treasures which Basil had accumulated, and which were so large that he had to build subterranean treasure vaults. The money in the treasury amounted to 200,000 lbs. of gold.<sup>21</sup> The arrears of two years' taxes were due when Basil died; these he rigorously collected. He was now an old voluptuary, utterly unfit to conduct the government, in which he had never taken any interest. He cared only for horse-racing, hunting, and dice-playing, or for tasting luxurious dishes. He had always been weak-minded, and his originally firm physique was so worn with age and indulgence and gout that, instead of meeting in the field the barbarians who were threatening the empire, he preferred to buy them off. It was his custom to forestall conspiracies by depriving of sight those whom he suspected, and he inflicted the same penalty on any one who actually conspired. That the notion of justice was alien to him is further shown by his habit of overwhelming persons in his immediate environment with a bounty which he did not extend further. He was too capricious and flighty to cherish resentment like Basil, and he often repented of his own severity.

Although his education was only superficial, he had a mother-wit and a remarkable fluency of speech—in this, too, contrasting with his brother—so that when he dictated business letters or despatches the fastest writer could not keep up with him.

It was Basil's custom to transact all business as far as possible himself. Constantine, on the other hand, transacted no business himself, except occasionally the dictation of letters. He entrusted the administration to six eunuchs of his household.<sup>22</sup>

His wife Helena, the daughter of Alypios, a man of distinction, bore him three daughters, of whom their childless uncle Basil had been extremely fond. The eldest, Eudokia, was unlike her family in being of equable and soft disposition; she was permitted at her own request to retire into a monastery. The other two, Zôè and Theodôra, who were of a prouder and more domineering temper, were destined to play a prominent part during the following years. When his death was approaching, the emperor chose Rômanos Argyropôlos to be his successor as the husband of his second and fairest daughter Zôè, then forty-eight years old. The fact that he

<sup>21</sup> If Zônaras means *pounds* by the pedantic word *talents*, the sum exceeds nine million pounds sterling. (Finlay, ii. p. 387.) I am afraid that Psellos (whom Finlay elsewhere calls a pedant) is originally responsible for the affected word *talents*.

<sup>22</sup> Their names are recorded by Kedrénos.

was already married was no impediment; his wife cut off her hair and sought the retreat of a convent.

Zónaras states that Constantine had originally destined Theodóra to be the wife of Rómanos, but that she refused.<sup>23</sup> Psellos makes a contrary statement—namely, that before the selection of Rómanos the emperor's choice fell on his second daughter. Moreover, he omits to mention a circumstance recorded by Zónaras and Kedrénos, that the first intention was to name Constantine Dalasēnos as his successor.

§ 4. *Rómanos III.*—We are informed by Psellos that from the accession of Rómanos his narrative will become fuller; 'for the emperor Basil died when I was an infant, and Constantine when I was just beginning my lessons; I was never in their presence, nor did I ever hear them speaking, and I know not whether I saw either of them, as I was too young to remember. But Rómanos I saw and on one occasion met him. Thus my account of Basil and Constantine is derived from others, whereas I can describe Rómanos from personal knowledge.'

Rómanos was well born and well educated, but Psellos expresses contempt for the amount and quality of his learning. 'He thought that he knew far more than he did.' He was ambitious to rival Marcus Antoninus and pose as a philosopher on the throne. It became the fashion to talk metaphysics at court, but it was mere pretence and show, due to no real concern for truth; and the learned of that time, says Psellos, had not reached further than the portals of Aristotle and only knew by rote a few catch-words of Platonism, never really penetrating into the secrets of metaphysics.

Another mania of Rómanos was warfare, of which he knew absolutely nothing. When he did not talk of the insoluble problems of parthenogenesis, his conversation was of greaves and corslets. He had high-flying schemes of subjugating all the eastern and all the western nations; he burned to rival the exploits of Alexander, Hadrian, or Trajan. His expedition against the Saracens in 1030 ended in a complete *fiasco*. Contrary to the advice of his officers he had rejected the proposals of the caliph for peace, as he could not bring himself to give up the delightful prospect of cutting trenches, diverting the courses of rivers, laying ambushes, and performing the other military operations described in ancient history. The great Basil made war in order to be at peace; Rómanos made war for its own sake. Psellos says that he began the war without a pretext, but we read in Kedrénos that Spondylēs, governor of Antioch, had suffered a serious defeat in the last month of 1029, which endangered the safety of Syria, so that Psellos is

<sup>23</sup> iv. p. 128: ἡ γὰρ τρίτη διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐκείνου εὐνέτειραν ἄκουσαν διαφυγῆναι αὐτοῦ παραιτίσασθαι τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ συμβίωσιν λέγεται.

probably exaggerating for the sake of effect the sexagenarian emperor's childish fancy to do what he read of.

Thus Rômanos 'raught at mountains with outstretched arms, yet parted but the shadow with his hand.' He had ascended the throne with high fantastical hopes of a brilliant and long reign, and perhaps the foundation of a new dynasty, and he held court with more splendour and practised a more profuse liberality than most sovereigns. He had inaugurated his reign with popular measures, abolishing, for example, the *allêlengyon*. But the discomfiture at Azaz acted like cold water, and moreover placed his finances in a very unsatisfactory condition. Consequently, when he returned to Constantinople after his unlucky experiences, his domestic policy changed. He abandoned the idea of being a second Trajan or Hadrian, and set before himself the far more practical ideal of a Byzantine financier—'a less strange life.' For his subjects this meant that he became a tyrant instead of a liberal if fantastic sovereign. His object was to recruit the treasury for the money he had staked for the glory he had not won. He waked from their slumbers old and forgotten claims, dormant since the proverbial archonship of Eukleidês, and visited with bitter visitation the monetary deficiencies of the fathers upon the children. In these matters he did not sit as an impartial judge, but acted as an advocate of the exchequer.

The use to which he put the results of his financial abilities was such that not even the court, much less the mass of his subjects, derived any benefit from all the money that streamed into the treasury. For Rômanos had yet another mania. He desired not only to rival Basil I or Constantine the Great as the founder of a new dynasty, to imitate Alexander or Trajan as a general, to rank with Aurelius as a crowned philosopher; he wished also to emulate Solomon and Justinian as a builder. Justinian had built the immortal church of the Divine Wisdom; Rômanos determined to build a church to the mother of God on a grand scale. 'A whole mountain was excavated' to supply the stones, and the art of excavation was reckoned a branch of philosophy; the workmen engaged in the edifice were ranked with the assistants of Pheidias and Polygnôtos. The work continued interminably, for the original design was not followed out, but modified and enlarged as it progressed. The sources of gold were being exhausted, and yet the church was not approaching completion.

Rômanos looked on this as a work of piety and undertook it professedly from pious motives, but Psellos says of course that they were only sham. It is interesting to read the philosopher's comments on the propriety of spending money on costly buildings for divine service. 'It is good,' he says, 'to love the comeliness of the house of the Lord, as the psalmist says, and the habitation of his



glory, and often to prefer throwing away money on it to winning happiness from other things. This is good, and who will gainsay those who are consumed with zeal for the Lord? But the principle holds good only when there is nothing to interfere with this pious end—when it does not involve injustice and harm to the public weal. Care that there should be nothing indecent in the Lord's house does not imply that even walls, encircling pillars, and swinging drapery, or expensive sacrifices are necessary to serve God, the true requisite being a mind encircled with godliness, a soul hued with the intellectual purple, even actions, and the fair affection of heart which really consists in an unaffected manner. The emperor understood syllogisms, and the puzzles of Sorites and Nobody, but he had no practical philosophy.' He was not content with building the church; he added to it a monastery which he supplied with the greatest luxury.

While the emperor's thoughts were occupied with building, intrigues were carried on at court of which he seems to have been intentionally ignorant. The empress Zôê had cause for dissatisfaction and very good reason for laying plans for future contingencies. At the time of his accession, although he himself was sixty-five and Zôê almost fifty years old, Rômanos had cherished the hopes of founding a dynasty. But when charms and aphrodisiacs proved unavailing, and he found that there was no prospect of issue, he began to show a neglect to his wife, which she felt derogatory to her royal birth, and lived apart from her, an arrangement which, being a delicate liver, she could not endure. Moreover, as she had no child and as the emperor's sister Pulcheria had great influence with her brother, and was not well disposed to herself, the prospect of what might happen on his death seemed precarious, and the state of his health indicated that he could not live long.

The most trusted counsellor of the emperor was a eunuch named Joannês, a very clever man of low origin who held the post of *orphanotrophos*, or head of an institution for the support of orphans. We shall have occasion to learn more about his personal qualities when we come to the history of the next reign. He and Zôê were on very bad terms, and perhaps we may suppose that he influenced the emperor in his behaviour towards her. But he had a very handsome brother named Michael, a youth of regular features, with bright eyes and a fair pink and white complexion. One day when the emperor and empress were sitting together, Joannês by imperial direction introduced his brother for inspection. The emperor having addressed a few questions to him dismissed him, bidding him remain in attendance within the palace, but the empress saw and loved. For a long time she kept her feelings a secret, but, unable longer to endure the pangs, she changed her behaviour to Joannês and became quite amicable, courting opportunities of con-

versation with him ; and casually introducing the topic of his brother she desired him to convey to Michael a permission to enter her presence whenever he wished. Joannês, at first unsuspecting, soon ascertained the state of Zôê's affections, which were manifested clearly in her next interview with Michael. Grasping the situation and seeing the prospect of unlimited power by the devolution of the sovereignty on his brother, he prepared Michael for the part he was to play.

The intrigue soon became an open scandal. Zôê, in the extravagance of her passionate admiration, used to array her lover in cloth of gold and rings ; she was seen to place him on the throne with a sceptre and a crown. Pulcheria and her adherents indignantly informed the emperor of what he could not, except intentionally, have avoided seeing. He felt no *tremor cordis* at Zôê's virginalling on Michael's palm. He merely for form's sake summoned the young man and questioned him on the matter, and when he denied the allegations on oath, professed to consider the informants calumniators and the alleged adulterer a most loyal servant. One point in Michael's favour was his liability to epileptic fits, which might be thought to unfit him for offices of gallantry ; and it might be supposed that this circumstance really disarmed the suspicions of Rômanos. But Psellos learned from a well-informed person who moved in the court at that time, and was acquainted intimately with the course of the love-drama of the empress and Michael, that Rômanos was perfectly aware that Zôê was madly in love with Michael, but was quite indifferent and determined to overlook it. And we can well understand that on the head of Rômanos, old and worn with disease, and devoid of affection for Zôê, the horns sat lightly. His sister Pulcheria, who led the party which disapproved of the intrigue, died soon afterwards, and then Joannês and Michael had a free field.

Psellos gives a description of the wasting disease which consumed the frame of Rômanos. He had himself seen him in a procession looking like a corpse ; his hair had fallen off, and he used to stop and draw breath every few steps. It was generally believed that his death, which took place in a bath, was accelerated by poison administered by Zôê (1034).

The officials of the palace, both those attached to the Basilian family, and also the adherents of the late emperor, advised Zôê to wait, nor in such weighty matters take a too hasty step. But her mind was quite made up, inasmuch as her affections were engaged, and she was incited to speedy action by Joannês. Michael the Paphlagonian was placed on the throne the same evening, and all the residents in the palace paid him the usual homage. Two commands were sent to the prefect of the city, that he should come early on the morrow with the members of the senate to recognise

the new emperor, and that he should make arrangements for the obsequies of the deceased. The ceremony of homage consisted in the senators advancing one by one into the presence of the king and queen, seated on thrones, and laying their heads on the ground before each; they then kissed the right hand of the emperor, but not that of the empress.

Psellos was in Constantinople at this time, a lad yet unbearded, and witnessed the funeral of Rômanos. The corpse, which was not, as with us, covered in a coffin, but carried in an open bier, was so changed that it was unrecognisable. The face was swollen, and the colour was not that of a dead body, but resembled persons who have been injured by drugs. Whether Rômanos was really poisoned was a question on which contemporaries could only entertain suspicions, but their suspicions seem to have been very strong.

§ 5. *Michael IV.*—Even from Zônaras it might be seen that Michael IV was by no means a bad emperor. The energetic part he took in the Bulgarian expedition just before his death was really heroic, if heroism means the surrender of personal interests and endurance of pain for impersonal ends. But in Psellos we can see his judgment and ability far more clearly than in Zônaras, who gives us an abridgment of Psellos. He tells us plainly that he is combating against a prevailing opinion, detrimental to Michael; he has in fact made himself Michael's apologist. We may assume with tolerable certainty that he owed some of his information to Constantine Leichudēs, who became a member of the senate at this time, and through whose influence probably Psellos himself became judge at Philadelphia. 'I am well aware,' he says, 'that many chroniclers in treating of his life will give an account diverging from ours; for the suspicion of the reverse of what was really the case was more prevalent in his times. But I, having partly had to do myself with the actual affairs, and having partly learned the secrets of state from persons who were in close attendance on him, am a competent judge of the matter, except my eyes and ears be impugned.'

As a contemporary, Psellos is the best authority we have, and his whole account of the reign of Michael IV gives us the impression of an impartiality which unfortunately we cannot always give him credit for. But his favourable representation of the emperor's character is confirmed by the shortly expressed judgment of Michael Attaleiatēs—'he left behind him many tokens of virtue.'<sup>24</sup> 'If we leave out of sight,' says Psellos, 'his conduct before his accession, he will rank among the few elect monarchs.'

Michael is an instance of a man who suddenly became mature. For a short time at the beginning of his reign, he made the palace

<sup>24</sup> *History*, p. 10: πολλὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς καταλιπὼν εἰκονίσματα. Skylitzēs' judgment is also favourable (Kedrēnos, ii. p. 534).

a sort of playground, gratifying the whims of the empress and careless of everything serious, just like a boy. But he suddenly became conscious of the magnitude of supreme power and the responsibilities devolving on a true king, and, immediately rising to the situation, he put away childish things and proved that his nature was not superficial. It struck Psellos as notably admirable that he made no sudden change in the administration, but graduated all his alterations. He introduced no novelty in the ordinary practices, annulled no law, made no change in the senate. To personal friends to whom he had pledged himself before his accession he kept his word, but did not immediately place them in high posts; he gave them subordinate positions as a preliminary training for advancement. His unwearied solicitude both provided that the provincial cities were well governed, and secured the empire against invasion.<sup>25</sup>

He bestowed particular diligence on the efficiency and improvement of the army, 'the sinews of the Rômaioi.' The administration of the finances he left entirely to his brother Joannēs, who was experienced in that department.

Like Rômanos, his predecessor, Michael was very religious, but he was not like him a *dilettante*: he was really in earnest. He was not only a constant church-goer, but he cultivated the society of theosophists, whom Psellos calls philosophers and distinguishes from the metaphysicians, such as Rômanos used to patronise; they were the philosophers who despise the world, and live with beings that are above the world. Michael sent out to the highroads and hedges, searched high and low throughout the whole empire to find such men, and when they arrived in his palace showed them the most extravagant veneration, rubbing their dirty feet with his own hands, and kissing them. He even went so far as to wrap secretly his imperial person in their rags. He used to set them on a couch, and lie at their feet on a stool. Those who had bodily sores or infirmities, and had thereby become disgusting to their fellowmen, were the objects of his special devotion; he used to wash them like a servant, and actually place his face on their sores.

Psellos speaks in tones of praise of this extravagant method of realising a spiritual life, which seems to us a sort of monomania. But Michael was really sincere, and we must remember that he had no 'Hellenic culture' to preserve him from these aberrations of a self-annihilating gymnosophic asceticism, which seems so ludicrous in a sovereign. He was not only ascetic himself, he also encouraged asceticism in others, and he laid out large sums in endowing monasteries for both male and female recluses. He built a new hall at Constantinople, called the Ptôchotropheion, a sort of refectory for

<sup>25</sup> παντοδαπὸς ἦν περὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πρόνοιαν, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐντὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁρίων πόλεις εὐνομούμενας ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς περὶξ ἔθνεσι τὰς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀναστέλλων ἐφόδους τοῦτο μὲν πρεσβείαις τοῦτο δὲ δώροις τοῦτο δὲ μαχίμων ἐπετείλοις ἀποστολαῖς. (*Hist.* p. 58.)

poor religious people. His zeal for saving lost souls extended itself to unfortunate females, of whom there was a very large number in the capital. As 'such persons are apt to be deaf to salutary advice,' he did not think it judicious to reclaim them by moral lectures, nor did he think of using violence. He built a very large and fine reformatory or penitentiary in the city, and then proclaimed to all women who made a trade of their persons, that if any of them wished to live in plenty, she had only to repair to this refuge and take the monastic habit. A large swarm of the 'ladies of the roof' <sup>26</sup> presented themselves, and were enrolled as recruits in the army of God. What the social effects of this step were, if 'a large swarm' is to be taken literally, we can only conjecture from the well-known measure which was tried at Venice. Such an effect, however, could only have been momentary; for as Michael's object was not directly to repress prostitution, but to save lost souls, and as he passed no repressive measure, the curtailed supply would, in a very short time, again equal the demand.

Persons ill disposed to the emperor put a malicious construction on his religious practices, asserting that before he ascended the throne he had had communication with evil spirits with which he had made a compact to deny God, and so lose his soul on condition of obtaining the empire. This is an interesting instance of the medieval superstition of compacts with the devil.

It was Michael's close connexion with his family that prevented his good qualities from being appreciated; his affectionate brothers proved his greatest misfortune, their vulgar grasping natures tarnishing the lustre of his. They were a sort of nemesis which attended his elevation. The eldest and chief of them, who possessed most political talent, was Joannēs the orphanotrophos, of whom I must now give a more detailed account. Psellos, when old enough to be a capable observer, had seen him and heard him speaking, and been in his company while he was transacting business; and he had observed his character carefully. He sums up his good and bad qualities in a businesslike manner which reminds us of Ammianus Marcellinus. He was keen and ready of wit, as could be seen by the flash of his eye; in the transaction of business he was most diligent and hardworking, and very experienced; his keenness was manifested particularly in public finances. He did no evil to any one, but put on a sour face in order to frighten people, and often deterred men from bad actions by his threatening looks. Hence he was really a tower of defence for the emperor, for night and day his thoughts were busy with the interests of the state, though this did not prevent him from attending banquets and public festivals. Nothing that went on escaped his many-eyed

<sup>26</sup> καὶ πολλὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἑσμὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους ἐκείθεν συνέρρουσαν (p. 67). Five hundred years before Theodōra and Justinian had made efforts to reclaim prostitutes.

vigilance, which was so great that he used often in the dead hours of the night to walk through the whole city—‘like lightning,’ says Psellos—easily escaping observation himself, for having been originally a monk he continued to wear a monastic dress. His excellent information on all that went on exercised a wholesome terror, which prevented gatherings and meetings that might look like illegal conspiracies.

Such were his laudable qualities, over against which Psellos places his profound dissimulation. He always adapted his words and looks to his company, and he had the habit of gazing at a person steadily when he was at some distance, and on his approach behaving as if he had not been aware of his presence before. If any one made a new suggestion which seemed likely to prove advantageous, he would pretend that he had himself decided on the course proposed long since, and rebuked the suggestor for his tardiness, who passed out crestfallen, while Joannès put the suggestion in practice and was under no obligation to its real author. He was ambitious to behave with princely grandeur and dignity, but the inner man continually exposed itself; he was not to the manner born. He used occasionally to indulge in potations, and it was then especially that his vulgarity came out in indecent behaviour. Yet even on such occasions he did not forget the absorbing cares of power. Psellos often met him at banquets, and wondered how a man unable to refrain from intoxication and laughter could draw the car of government. But when he was drunk he measured the behaviour of each of his fellows, and called them to account afterwards for what they said or did, so that men were more afraid of him drunk than sober. He was a strange compound, this man, dressed in his monastic gown. To the decency which such a dress might seem to demand he did not dream of paying any regard, though, in deference to some new imperial law which concerned the monastic orders, he might occasionally pretend some outward conformity. For dissolute livers he entertained a contempt, but to gentlemen of liberal culture and refined habits he felt a repugnance and tried to diminish their influence.

The shiftiness which he displayed towards the world in general was, in relation to his brothers, replaced by an unvarying affection. The other brothers are represented to have been a worthless lot. If Joannès was far inferior in virtue to Michael, he was far superior to the other three, Nikétas, Constantine, and Geörgios. They utilised their kinship to the emperor as a cover for deeds of injustice of which Joannès did not approve; while Joannès was so fond of his brothers that he took care that the emperor should not hear of them, and if anything did come to his ears used his influence to protect them from the imperial anger. Nikétas was made duke (δούξ) of Antioch, where he signalised himself by an act of

perfidy. The citizens, who before his arrival had wreaked summary vengeance on a tax collector who had behaved indecently towards them, shut the gates in fear lest Nikētas should punish them. He bound himself by oaths to grant a plenary pardon, but when he was admitted put a great number to death and sent many of the chief men to the capital.<sup>27</sup> Some time after this Nikētas died, and his brother Constantine, a eunuch like Joannēs, succeeded him as duke of Antioch, and in that office relieved Edessa from a Saracen siege. He was soon raised to the rank of domestikos, or commander of the eastern armies. Geōrgios, of whom we hear least, was made protovestiarior; he too was probably a eunuch. The whole family was very unpopular:

And what is Edward but a ruthless sea?  
 What Clarence but a quicksand of deceit?  
 And Richard but a ragged fatal rock?

And the emperor Michael was involved in the unpopularity of the family with which he was identified.

Joannēs was a man of boundless activity and resources. His object was to secure the succession for his own family—to found a Paphlagonian dynasty; and as Michael's health was very bad it was imperative to take precautions in good time. A scheme of personal ambition which he attempted to execute failed. This was his own election to the patriarchal chair, which involved the deposition of the then patriarch Alexios, to compass which Joannēs formed a cabal of clerical dignitaries who conspired to unseat Alexios on the ground that he had not been canonically elected. Alexios was equal to the occasion, and pointed out that if his election had not been canonical, the invalidity of all the appointments he had made during his tenure of office would follow of logical necessity. This manifesto caused the majority of the clergy to take the part of Alexios, and the scheme of Joannēs fell through. If he had been successful—if Alexios had been a weaker man or had happened to die in the reign of Michael IV—Joannēs would have been in so secure and influential a position that he might have saved his family dynasty from the catastrophe in which the conduct of Michael Kalaphatēs involved it. Alexios was probably never well disposed to the Paphlagonian family, but he was a firm adherent of the Basilian house.

The epileptic fits to which the emperor was subject became so constant that he was obliged to lead a life of great seclusion, and when his imperial duties made it necessary to hold an audience, purple curtains and curtain-pullers were so placed that if the least

<sup>27</sup> Zōnaras, iv. 138. The citizens of Antioch were suspected of a degree of goodwill towards Constantine Dalassēnos which was inconsistent with their loyalty to the throne. Dalassēnos was considered a dangerous person, and kept in strict confinement.

sign indicated that the disease was about to seize him his agony could in a moment be concealed from view, as it were in a separate room. And when he rode abroad he was accompanied by a guard which used to form a circle round him, so that if he were overtaken by a fit he should not be a public spectacle. In the intervals between the fits he was always actively engaged. But Joannès perceived that the sands of his life were running quickly down, and he framed a plan for securing the succession to his family, which consisted in the timely elevation of a nephew to the rank of Cæsar, and the adoption of him by the empress Zôè as her son.

Besides his four brothers Joannès had a sister named Maria, who was the wife of a ship-tarrer (caulker) named Stephanos. The brother-in-law had taken his share in the successes of the family, and had been appointed to succeed George Maniakès in Sicily, where, as might be expected, he conducted affairs with such gross incompetency and corruption that the rich island was lost to the Saracens, with the exception of Messênê, which was preserved by the bravery of its commandant Kekaumenos Katakolôn. Psellos saw Stephanos after he had been transformed in the game of fortune from a pitch-smearer of ships to a military commander, and was highly amused with the figure he cut. He looked out of place on his steed, and his dress looked out of place on him; he was like a pygmy trying to act Héraklès, but unable to manage the lionskin and wield a club bigger than himself. This man and Maria had a son named Michael, who was surnamed Kalaphatès after his father's profession. He had not been forgotten in the family preferments, and had been appointed captain of the body-guard. On him the choice of Joannès fell to succeed his brother, for he seems to have been the nearest relative eligible,<sup>28</sup> and he decided to have him proclaimed Cæsar. It required some adroitness to suggest this to the emperor and obtain his consent, as it is a matter of difficulty even for brothers to introduce to monarchs the subject of their own mortality.

Psellos professes to give a full account of the conversation which passed between Joannès and Michael. That some such conversation did take place we have no reason to doubt, though of course the actual words put into their mouths by Psellos are as fictitious as the dialogue of the Athenians and Mèlians in Thukydidès. It has a considerable value, however, as a dialogue imagined as probable by a contemporary, and in this aspect claims our attention. Joannès begins by reminding the emperor of his own unwavering loyalty and brotherly attachment. When the emperor demands the aim of this prelude, he goes on to say: 'Do not imagine that the ears of the majority of your subjects have not heard and their eyes seen that you suffer both from a secret and from an undisguised

<sup>28</sup> Nikétas was dead; Constantine and Geórgios were eunuchs.



disease. That you are really in no danger on this account I know full well, but yet the tongues of men refrain not from discussing the possibility of your death; and this leads me to fear that, having got into their heads the idea that you are about to die immediately, they may combine against you and elect a new emperor and place him in the palace. For myself and our family I feel less concern, but I am alarmed in your behalf lest such a good and excellent monarch should pay for want of prudence. He will escape the danger but not the reproach of not foreseeing the future.' This punctiliously deferential speech is interesting as showing the tone in which Joannēs would have spoken to his brother. He then proposed his plan, and Michael consented. As a greater security it was arranged that Zôê, who as an heiress of the old Basilian dynasty was very popular, should adopt him as her son. A public festival was proclaimed and the ceremony was performed.

Michael never loved Zôê, who was past fifty when their *liaison* began. For a time he acted the lover, but the part soon became tedious, and he not only grew cold, but, feeling suspicious that she might treat him as she is supposed to have treated Rômanos, he kept her in strict confinement in the women's apartments, cut down her income, and prevented access to her except by the special permission of a guard whom he appointed to superintend her. Zôê behaved under this treatment with the greatest self-control and patience, never even bestowing on her appointed keeper a hard word or look. The brothers did not trust this meek behaviour, which they viewed as consummate acting; they looked on Zôê as a caged lioness, and the meeker she seemed the greater precautions they took. The emperor soon gave up living with her altogether. He suffered from dropsy, and was indisposed for conjugal life; and this indisposition was confirmed by the admonitions of his spiritual advisers.

The Bulgarian war which immediately preceded and hastened Michael's death—the rising of the false Dolianos, the double desertion of the genuine Alusianos, and the heroism of the emperor—has been related fully by Zônaras, closely following Psellos, and by Finlay. We need not repeat it here. The emperor after his exhausting labours returned in triumph, but nigh unto death, for which he prepared by assuming the monastic order. The ceremony was performed in the church of the Anargyroi which he had built himself, and when it was concluded the ex-emperor was cheerful 'like a man light and fleet for a journey,' but his household and brothers, especially Joannēs, were plunged in despondency. When the empress heard the news, she immediately proceeded on foot to the monastery, but Michael refused to see her. Shortly afterwards the time for a hymnal service arrived, and Michael arose from his couch to attend it, but found that his imperial shoes had not been changed nor monastic foot-gear provided. He was obliged to totter

barefoot to the chapel, and when he returned to repose he died. He was a man who, under more favourable circumstances, might have been an efficient ruler and have won the praise of historians; but he was sorely let and hindered, on the one hand by his ill health, and on the other hand by his kinsfolk.

JOHN B. BURY.

*(To be continued.)*



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## *Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnénos*

### PART II.

§ 6. *MICHAEL V.*—The irony of history forcibly impressed itself on the philosopher Psellos as manifested in the elevation of Michael V. Joannès the orphanotrophos had secured this elevation with the express purpose of preserving his own power and the position of his family; and destiny or providence made use of the same means for the ruin of Joannès himself and his family's utter catastrophe. *L'homme propose.*

Michael V is represented by historians to have been a man of no principle and no conscience. He is said to have been skilled in dissembling, hiding the fire of hatred under the ashes of goodwill—*cineri doloso*;—he is said to have been ungrateful to his benefactors. When he was made Cæsar—an honour perhaps which he had not dreamed of—he sketched out in his imagination (we are informed by Psellos) plans of action to be followed when his uncle Michael died. His chief feeling was detestation of his own family, and he determined to get rid of his relations, especially Joannès, by death or banishment,—to stamp out his whole stock.

And till I root out their accursed line  
And leave not one alive, I live in hell.

The more virulent his feelings, the more friendly to all did he appear in the meantime, but the quicksightedness of Joannès was not deceived by the dissimulation of his most unnatural nephew, whose real sentiments he suspected. But he decided to take no step at once. Michael on his part became aware of Joannès' suspicions, and the dissembling friendliness deceived neither. Michael IV did not like his nephew; he showed him no consideration nor honour, except in the mere formal ceremonies in which he assisted as Cæsar, and kept him in a sort of banishment outside the city, not permitting him to appear in court, except in obedience to a command. But his uncle Constantine, who was jealous of the influence of Joannès, saw that it might be a profitable game to ingratiate himself with the apparent heir, and accordingly flattered him and lent him money.

On Michael's abdication of the throne, the family clique took their measures cautiously; and caution was necessary, as the city was excited and ready for a tumult. Psellos was a witness of the circumstances. They took no step without the countenance of the empress, so that the elevation of Michael Kalaphatès should appear altogether due to her, and the adopted son made the most lavish protestations and took the most solemn oaths that she should be sole sovereign and that he would merely act as a sort of hired minister to put her wishes into execution. Zôê was won, and, her attitude repressing the threatening populace, the new emperor was consecrated and crowned. For the first day he was on his good behaviour towards both the empress and his uncle Joannès, calling her, with emphatic repetition, 'empress,' deferring to the opinion of 'my lady,' addressing Joannès as 'my lord' and placing him next himself at table. All except Joannès were taken in by this conduct and thought him a most deserving and judicious young man. 'His uncle,' they said, 'made a good choice.'

This respectful deference was very soon dropped, and his uncle Constantine, who had been immediately created a *nobelissimos*, encouraged him to exhibit the coldness he felt towards Joannès. The latter did not say much, but concocted a plan, which came under the notice of Psellos but was not generally known, to replace the emperor by one of his cousins, a certain Constantine. In order to provide against miscarriage he actually induced the emperor, in a moment when he was indisposed to transact business, to sign a paper in which there was a clause that if any of his cousins were to attempt usurpation the matter should pass unpunished. But the plan came to nothing.

The smouldering envy between uncle and nephew soon burst into flame, the occasion being a difference of opinion between them, of which Constantine the *nobelissimos* availed himself to heap abuse and reproaches on Joannès for arrogance and disloyalty. Joannès immediately withdrew from the city accompanied by a personal retinue, expecting that his nephew would repent and beseech him with importunity to return, and a large number of senators, not from love but from the same expectation, withdrew with him. Michael did not in the least regret his uncle's departure, but he was alarmed at the secession of the members of the *synkletôs*, and therefore wrote a letter to Joannès, in which he reproached him for his conduct and summoned him to a private interview in the palace. Joannès went, expecting reconciliatory overtures, but found that the emperor had not kept his appointment, being absent at a horse-race. Considering this a sign that the breach was final, he left the city. Soon afterwards the emperor sent a vessel to his place of retreat, with a mandate to present himself at the palace, which he obeyed. As the vessel was about

to enter the great harbour, Michael, who was watching its approach from the palace windows, gave a preconcerted signal to the captain not to moor but to turn the vessel back. Then a second vessel came up which carried the orphanotrophos to a distant place of banishment.

In one point at least, Joannēs and his nephew were of diametrically opposite disposition. The uncle was remarkable for his unswerving attachment to his kindred; the nephew abhorred his relations with the most consistent detestation, making an exception in favour of Constantine. 'The names of kinship, the common bond of kindred blood, appeared to him mere childishness, and it would have been nothing to him if one wave had engulfed all his relations.' When he had disposed of Joannēs he proceeded to gratify these disagreeable sentiments by emasculating most of the members of his family, many of whom were respectable men with wives and children.

This policy of exterminating his own family seems so obviously self-destructive for an emperor in the precarious position of an upstart, that one might almost conclude that the young man must have been mad. Nobody had any reason to object to the banishment of the unpopular orphanotrophos, whose Argus-like supervision, oppressive taxation, and restless ambition had not conduced to making many friends. Once he was gone, the temerity of Michael hurried on the catastrophe; for 'beggars mounted run their horse to death.' His policy was to depress and show disfavour to the officials and persons of rank, removing or limiting their powers and privileges; and on the other hand to concede privileges to the populace and humour it, so as to rest his tenure of the throne on the many and not on the few. Tradesmen and retail dealers who profited by his *ad captandum* measures showed their goodwill by strewing silken carpets in the streets when he rode abroad; and this deluded him into the idea that he might with impunity try to set aside the old Basilian dynasty, by hanging on to which he had himself obtained power. This misconception of the popular mind led to his fall.

He had got rid of one political power which he disliked, his uncle. There was another political power which he disliked more, but whose position was more dangerous to assault. This was the empress Zōē, on whom, as he found out too late, his position really depended. After the first days of his reign, during which he had lavished marks of deference towards her, he had 'elbowed her aside' and kept her in confinement, withholding her income and not even permitting her to be attended by her own servants. But this was only preparatory. He hated her so much, we are told, that he was ready to bite his tongue out for having ever called her mistress. He determined to banish her, 'that the beast might have the palace

to house in all to himself.' <sup>29</sup> He accused her of practising poisoning—it is said, with the most absurd details—and condemned her to exile. She was conveyed with only one maid to Prince's island,<sup>30</sup>—the island where another empress, Irene the Athenian, had been kept in confinement before she was removed to Lesbos. One of the persons who escorted her related to Psellos that, as the ship was starting, the empress, looking up at the palace, apostrophised it with a rather theatrical lament. The emperor ordered that her hair should be cut off, and thus she was sacrificed, 'I know not if to the Lord,' says Psellos, 'but at least to the passion of the emperor.'

The next step was to give official publicity to this act. He first announced it to the senate, and the senate approved of the measure. He then caused a manifesto to be read aloud in the forum of Constantine in order to justify himself to the people.<sup>31</sup>

The great explosion that followed this ill-advised act of Michael made a deep impression on eye-witnesses. Psellos introduces his account of it with a solemn preparation as for a great scene in history—too great for human powers to narrate. He speaks of it in language that we might expect to be used about such an event as the French revolution.<sup>32</sup>

The emperor was congratulating himself on the success of his cherished scheme while the storm was gathering in the city. The usual routine of business and pleasure had been interrupted; all ages, sexes, and classes formed small groups and muttered their dissatisfaction. There was a threatening gloom over the whole city—grief at the queen's misfortune and wrath with the audacity of the despot. On the second day the mutterings became distinct, and the half-formed wish to avenge the banished empress assumed a definite shape. Officials of rank and public men joined with the populace, the classes with the masses, in the excitement; all were ready to lay down their lives for Zôê, and the emperor's foreign guard could not allay the tumult. The women behaved like Mænads. Psellos says that he saw women, who had never been outside the female apartments in their lives before, coming forth

<sup>29</sup> Psellos, *History*, p. 86: 'ὡς ἔχει μόνος ὁ θῆρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεσθαι. He consulted the astrologers as to his project; they forbade it; he laughed at them (*ib.* 87–88).

<sup>30</sup> Attaleiatēs, p. 13: νῆσος δὲ αὐτῇ τῆς βασιλευούσης οὐ πόρρω is rendered in the Latin translation which accompanies the text in the Bonn edition by *insula hæc reginæ non longe abest*. Did the translator understand τῆς βασιλευούσης or not? If he did, he has not succeeded in expressing the meaning. In a passage in Kedrénos relating to the Chrysargyron tax which Anastasios abolished, I noticed that the word *οδρον* was rendered *mulus* by the Bonn translator!

<sup>31</sup> This is recorded by Attaleiatēs, p. 14: the emperor in order to calm the anger of the Byzantines, when his act became known, ἔγγραφόν τι ποιεῖται τοῦτοις κατὰ τὸν ἐπισημότερον τόπον τοῦ φόρου ἐπαναγνώσθησόμενον, in which manifesto he threw all the blame on Zôê. The bill was called a *πιττάκιον*.

<sup>32</sup> P. 90: τὸ μέγα ἐκείνο καὶ δημοσιώτατον ἀπετελέσθη μυστήριον.

in public, shouting and beating their breasts. The rioting inhabitants armed themselves with any implement they could lay hands on—axes, clubs, bows, or stones.

At this time Psellos was in the emperor's antechamber. He was an under-secretary, and happened to be dictating some state document when the sound as of horses tramping struck his ears, and anon came a messenger with the news that the whole people had unanimously risen against the emperor. To most persons in the palace it seemed incredible, but Psellos had observed the prognostics in the city, and understood that the spark had burst into a flame which it would require many rivers to quench. He immediately got to horse and rode to see the tumult himself, which he describes rhetorically. It is easy to read between the lines here that the philosopher had quite made up his mind beforehand to desert the emperor, for whom he has no good word.

The mob first attacked the houses of all the relations of the emperor, among them the house of Constantine the nobelissimos. The eunuch armed his household and at their head made a desperate rush through the crowds, and traversing the streets like fire reached the palace. There he found the emperor sitting in dismay, utterly at a loss what to do, unable even to rely on his foreign guards, some of whom had deserted. He received his uncle with kisses of joy, and they decided to bring back Zôê from the adjacent island, to which she had been banished. Zôê sympathised, whether really or feignedly, with Michael's misfortune, and readily consented to show herself to the people. She appeared in purple robes on a balcony overlooking the hippodrome, but the device had not the desired effect; the mob was not imposed upon.

The life of Theodôra, Zôê's younger sister,<sup>33</sup> had been so recluse that Michael V was hardly even aware of her existence. A happy thought struck some of the leaders of the insurrection—to lead her forth from her retirement at Petrion and proclaim her empress. This idea was carried out in a surprisingly orderly manner. One of her father's servants—a foreigner, *but* noble in form and spirit, according to Psellos—was appointed their guide, and they marched in regular order to her dwelling. At first the surprised princess, inured to her mode of life and perhaps afraid, would not listen to their proposals, and shut herself up in the sanctuary; they were obliged to force her by threats with drawn daggers. She was dragged from the altar, arrayed in royal attire, and borne on horseback to the church of St. Sophia, where high and low acknowledged her as empress. The participation of the patriarch Alexios in this movement is mentioned by Attaleiatês, not by Psellos.

The emperor gave up all for lost, and exchanging his robes for

<sup>33</sup> In the reign of Rômanos she had been compelled through Zôê's enmity to retire to a convent. From Kedrênos, ii. 537, we learn that she lived at Petrion.



the garb of a suppliant went by ship with his uncle to the famous monastery of Studion,<sup>34</sup> which presently became the place of a strange scene. When his flight became known, general exultation, displayed in songs and dances, prevailed, but also the desire of revenge.

Psellos rode with a friend, a captain of the guard, to the church at Studion, whither the greater part of the mob was thronging. There he saw the fugitive emperor clinging to the altar and his uncle standing on the right side of it, both so disfigured and changed that Psellos could not feel any vestige of anger against them, but was so overwhelmed and aghast at the violent change that he could not refrain from weeping. The multitude, however, was not of as soft stuff as the philosopher; they stood around like wild beasts, eager to devour their prey. Psellos was standing hard by the altar, and the two hunted fugitives were quick enough to notice that he was affected, and catching at the chance they came to him for help. He 'gently rebuked' Constantine for his evil counsels, and asked the emperor what ill he had suffered at the hands of his mother Zoë. The nobelissimos denied any participation in the emperor's acts, and remarked that if his advice had been followed his own kindred would not have been reduced to their present state. The emperor could make no excuse.

In the afternoon a messenger, accompanied by a number of civil and military officials, arrived with orders from Theodôra to remove the fugitives elsewhere. But they were so much frightened by the threatening countenances of the crowd that they refused to leave the altar, and it was necessary to drag them from it. They were carried in mulecarts to a place called the Sigma, where their eyes were put out. The operation is described by Psellos: in undergoing it the emperor behaved as a coward, his uncle with more fortitude. This punishment of the emperor seemed a political necessity, as it was feared that Zoë, whose dislike of her sister was one of her strongest feelings, might restore the deposed monarch.

Michael V is generally looked upon as a sort of moral abortion, a monster without a virtue. Psellos and Zónaras, following Psellos, represent him as such, and in the preceding pages I have kept closely to Psellos' account.

But if we look merely at his actions and leave for a moment out of consideration a particular historian's view of his character—remembering that that historian was probably biassed, as he was an actor on the opposite side—we cannot pass a judgment of pure unmodified damnation. The two acts to which most prominence is given are the banishment of Joannēs and the banishment of Zoë. The former of these seems to have been foolish for Michael's own interest, but can have been by no means unpopular, as Joannēs was

<sup>34</sup> Situated in the south-west corner of Constantinople.

hated. During the long supremacy which he had enjoyed in the reign of Michael IV he had probably become overbearing and dictatorial, and may have made himself very offensive to the new emperor if the latter had independent ideas and wished to act on them. The banishment of Zôê shows that Michael had not appreciated the conservative feeling which prevailed in the empire, and attached itself to the Basilian dynasty as a sort of central rallying-point. In itself the exile of Zôê was hardly more or less flagitious than that of Joannēs. She was probably a troublesome and meddlesome old woman, and of course we need not believe all that Psellos tells us of the deep-seated detestation, without any apparent ground, that Michael felt towards her.

Some other acts, reversing acts of the previous reign, deserve commendation. He delivered the able general George Maniakēs from the confinement in which he had been placed by Michael IV, and made him magister and catapan of 'Italy.' He also released Constantine Dalassēnos, who had been persecuted by Joannēs. He made Psellos' own friend Constantine Leichudēs, who afterwards won high repute as an able and upright statesman, his chief minister.<sup>35</sup>

Psellos is not by any means above the suspicion of partiality; his account of the reign of his pupil and pet Michael Parapinakēs is a sufficient proof of this. In the present case it was not his interest to say a word for Michael V, as afterwards it was not his interest to speak good words of Rōmanos Diogenēs. He joined the general insurrection, as probably Leichudēs also did, and he was a strong partisan of the next emperor, Monomachos, whose power was founded on the ruins of Kalaphatēs.

These considerations may lead us to conclude that Michael V, after all, was not so very diabolical; that the chief diabolical quality he possessed was perhaps that of not being so black as he was painted. But this view becomes stronger and less negative when we compare a neglected passage in the history of Michael Attaleiatēs.<sup>36</sup> There we read that before his elevation this emperor's views on politics were blamed and blameworthy, but that after his succession he was very highly praised for his honourable behaviour

<sup>35</sup> We learn this fact from Psellos' funeral oration on Leichudēs, p. 398: *εἴτα δὴ ὁ μετ' ἐκείνον ἄρξας, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐγνώκει τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ κράτους, ἀλλ' ὄν ἄρτι τοῦ ὀχλήματος ἐπιβὰς, καὶ δεδιὼς ὑπερ' ἐπεπόνθει, πρὸς οὐδένᾳ τῶν πάντων ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀπέβλεψεν· οὐκ ἔφθασε δὲ τοῦτον ἀναβιβάσας ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>36</sup> *ἦν δ' ἄνηρ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς προτέρας διαγωγῆς κακισόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐπαινετῶς πολιτευομένοις μὴ συναπτόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ λίαν ἐγκωμιαζόμενός τε καὶ σεμνυνόμενος οἷα φιλοτίμως ἄρτι πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευκότας τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσφερόμενος ὑπηκόοις καὶ τιμαῖς περιβλέπτοις καὶ ἀξιώμασι πλείστοις ὄσους καταγεραίρων καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν εἰπερ τις ἄλλος σπουδάζων ἀνεγερθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδικητῆς ἀναφαινόμενος ἀπαράιτητος καὶ δικαιοσύνην τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὑπεραίρων καὶ προτιμώμενος.—Hist. p. 17.*

to the senate and to his other subjects, in which respect he surpassed previous monarchs, conferring honours and dignities on many; moreover for his concern for the maintenance of order and his zeal for justice. This passage is sufficient to make us pause before accepting an extreme view unfavourable to Michael.<sup>37</sup>

It seems to me that Michael V conceived the bold idea of making a new start in the direction of reform, but that the conservative elements—the *inertia*—were too strong for him. It had not escaped his observation that his predecessor was weighed down and impeded by his relations; and he consequently concluded that one condition of success was to make a clean clearance of his kinsmen. Joannēs seems never have fallen in with his new plans, but Constantine, who was merely a timeserver, humoured him. The banishment of Zôê was also necessary to his designs, for she was a remnant of the old order of things.

The irrelevant consideration that his conduct to Zôê was ungrateful, combined with his unkind treatment of his relations, has obscured the attitude and the aims of Michael V, and perverted the judgment of historians in his regard. We have no reason to blame his political tendencies; it is his blunder in banishing the empress that condemns him.

§ 7. *Zôê and Theodôra*.—The women's apartments in the palace were now changed into a council-chamber. There was some difficulty at first in the joint rule of two old sisters, between whom suspicion and dislike had prevailed for many years. Zôê was the eldest, but it was the proclamation of Theodôra that had overthrown Kalaphatēs. The difficulty was solved by unexpected graciousness on Zôê's part; and Theodôra, in accordance with her retiring disposition, yielded precedence to her sister. State business was transacted and audiences were held just as usual, and the general loyalty was more pronounced than towards an emperor.<sup>38</sup> Those who had held office under Kalaphatēs were not disgraced nor deposed.

Zôê was quick in apprehension, but not fluent of speech; Theodôra, on the other hand, fluent and less swift-witted. Theodôra was fond of hoarding, Zôê extravagant in her liberality.

But the reign of the two women could not last, for the administration was neglected or mismanaged and the expenditure ruinous.

<sup>37</sup> Le Beau's words may be taken as typical of the general feeling of historians about this emperor: *Plus indigne de régner par la bassesse de son cœur que par celle de sa naissance, il était fourbe, injuste, ingrate, ne reconnaissant ni les droits de la parenté ni ceux de l'amitié*. . . &c. (xiv. 308, ed. Saint-Martin).

<sup>38</sup> *τό τε πολιτικὸν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν συμφωνοῦντας ὑπὸ δεσπότῃσι* (Psellos, *Hist.* p. 104); cf. Zônaras, p. 155. Psellos adds an expression of wonder that no family seemed so favoured of Heaven as the Basilian, 'though the root was fixed and planted not lawfully, but by bloodshed and slaughter;' the members of the family were all incomparable in both beauty and size.

Neither of them understood anything of finances or political affairs ; they mixed up the trivialities of a lady's bower with the imperial business. The court was kept up with a degree of extravagant splendour and display that drained the treasury. The palace was full of flatterers, and Zôê spent the military funds in profusion to these nimble caperers.

This waste and height of brilliance were the beginning, says Psellos, of the subsequent descent—the condition of state bankruptcy which ensued. A strong man's hand at the helm was imperatively required. Zôê's jealousy of her sister induced her to satisfy this requirement and choose a third husband. She fixed first on Constantine Dalassénos, a nobleman who had suffered from the ascendancy of the Paphlagonian family, to which his birth, his position, and his high spirit had made him an object of alarm.<sup>39</sup> In the reign of Michael IV he had been confined in the island of Platy ; Michael V released him, but made him become a monk. Zôê summoned him to the palace on some pretext, but his independent manner and his uncompromising spirit disappointed the empress, who was used to smooth words, and she rejected him. Her choice then fell on a man, distinguished for beauty and sensual attractions, though not for rank or position,<sup>40</sup> Constantine Artoklinas, who had been a secretary of Rômanos III, and was then suspected of carrying on an intrigue with Zôê. The disposition of Rômanos was not jealous, but Michael IV found a pretext for removing him from Constantinople. It was fated, however, that Zôê should be obliged to make yet a third choice, for death suddenly carried off Artoklinas. This accident blew good to another Constantine, who had been banished by Michael IV to Mitylênê, Constantine Monomachos. Zôê recalled him from exile, married him, and raised him to the throne. The Monomachoi<sup>41</sup> were an old family, and Constantine had made a brilliant second marriage, which had joined him in affinity with the emperor Rômanos. Puleheria, the sister of Rômanos, was the wife of Basil Sklêros ; Constantine married their only daughter. But this alliance did

<sup>39</sup> Constantine VIII had thought of choosing him as his successor.

<sup>40</sup> οἷον πρὸς ἔρωτας ἐφελέκυσσασθαι καὶ μὴ μαχλοσύνη προσκειμένην ψυχὴν (Zônaras, p. 155). This is not taken from Psellos, who merely says, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἀξιώματιδος καὶ λαμπρός. Nor does Psellos mention the suspicion recorded by Zônaras that his death was caused by poison administered by his wife.

<sup>41</sup> ῥίζης ἀρχαίας τῶν Μονομάχων (Psellos, *Hist.* p. 110). In the *Epitaphios* on Leichudēs, Psellos speaks of Constantine thus : ὁ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ὁμόνυμος τῇ τὴν οὐρανύπολιν ταύτην οἰκίσαντι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν φερώνυμος, μόνος τοῦ κράτους προκινδυνεύσας καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀξιόμαχος γεγονώς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τοῦ γένους μονομαχῆσας εὐκλείας, κἀντεῦθεν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὥσπερ ἀριστεῖον ἀνειληφώς (p. 398). Here of course there is only a play on the name Μονομάχος, which was a family name, not an ἐπωνυμία. One of the characteristics of Psellos' style is a love of speaking of people without mentioning their names, as though the names were something trivial, and it were more dignified to indicate by a periphrasis or indirection.

not procure him any appointment. His father Theodosios had conspired against Basil, and a cloud of suspicion continued to rest over the son.

§ 8. *Constantine IX.*—From Rômanos III to Michael VI the Basilian dynasty continued; for of the five emperors three were husbands of Zôê, one was her adopted son, and one was the nominee of Theodôra. Thus the accident of the long lives of these women lends a sort of continuity to the history between Constantine VIII and Isaac Komnênos. But in the first part of this period the actual government of the empire passed into the hands of a Paphlagonian family, and the attitude of Constantine IX was opposition to this administration,<sup>42</sup> an opposition which one of themselves, Michael V, had already initiated. This contrast is indicated by his choice of ministers. His first chief counsellor was Michael Kêrularios,<sup>43</sup> who had been concerned in a revolt against Michael IV, and when after a short time he became patriarch, he was replaced by Leichudês, who had held the same position under Michael V. Thus his ministers were trained and learned men. One of the most important events of his reign was the revival of letters, which had been on the wane since Constantine VII; influenced by Leichudês and the polymath Psellos, Monomachos patronised learning, in which respect he was the forerunner of the Komnênai.

Psellos gives us a long account of this reign, which he compares to an ocean; for he had lived through so many very short reigns that the supremacy of Monomachos, which lasted thirteen years, seemed quite long. In describing the chief men and women at his court we may begin with the emperor himself.

Love of pleasure and fickleness of disposition were the chief characteristics of Constantine; he was a thoroughly frivolous man. In a long banishment he had suffered many hardships, and when he ascended the throne his idea was to recompense himself for past pains by the greatest possible measure of enjoyment. He looked on the palace as a haven of rest which he had reached having endured the stress of the waves; and all he cared for was good cheer and the presence of smiling faces. He had no conception, says Psellos, that the function of a king is the performance of services beneficial to the *subjects* and demanding a mind constantly awake and alive. Consistently with this view he left the entire public administration to others, devoting very little time himself to business, and gave himself up to the life hedonistic; and as Zôê's inclinations were similar she was very well content. 'He that must steer at the head of an empire ought to be the mirror of the times for wisdom and for policy.' Constantine did

<sup>42</sup> The eyes of Joannês, the orphanotrophos, were put out in 1043, May 2.

<sup>43</sup> Psellos: ἐγκωμιστικὸς εἰς τὸν μακαριώτατον πατριάρχην κὺρ Μιχαὴλ τὸν Κηρουλλάριον (p. 324).

not even try to be wise or politic; his utter indifference reacted ruinously on the state, though his ministers seem to have been 'indifferent honest.'

He had a vulgar love of buffoonery and a childish love of triviality; any one who could make him laugh prepossessed him and was sure of promotion. Here we touch on a bad feature of his reign. There were fixed and definite conditions, and grades of promotion to rank; Constantine declined to be restricted by them and lavished titles and posts on the favourites of an hour. He filled the senate with persons who had no right to be there. The consequence was that these honours became valueless, as they meant nothing. This profusion of titles was at least cheap, but unfortunately he was equally generous and unjust in spending the public money, following the example set by Zōë and Theodōra in their short reign before his accession. The state was really sound, says Psellos, before his accession; but his unprincipled principles as to the lack-duty privileges of the emperor affected it with many germs of disease.

Nevertheless he had some good qualities; he was sharp-witted and very good-natured. Psellos, who endeavours to treat him impartially and does not scruple to censure severely many of his acts and point out his defects, had a high opinion of his personal character, and comparing him with Alexander, 'the two Cæsars,' and other great men of ancient ages, says that while inferior to these in bravery he excelled them in other good qualities. Whenever he passed a sentence of imprisonment or banishment, he felt a pang of remorse for his severity; and he was so afraid of his own clemency that he used to bind himself secretly by oath not to commute the sentence he had passed. He was beneficent and compassionate in cases that came under his immediate notice. For example, it happened that a rich man had been accused and found guilty of peculating money from certain military funds. The fine which was adjudged was larger than all he was worth, and he had the prospect of not only present penury but a debt which would be transmitted to his children. The claimant of the fine being the public exchequer, it was impracticable to supplicate an inexorable thing. The man gained an audience of the emperor, at which Psellos was present as secretary; and professed his readiness to pay everything he possessed, if only the surplus should not be handed down as an inherited obligation to his children. He began to strip off his clothes in token that he would surrender everything. The emperor was moved to tears, and ended by paying the whole debt for him.

We may be sure that Constantine was not really badly intentioned. It was his fortune and not his fault that it was an impossibility for him to be serious. He was a bad emperor, but a



sufficiently amiable man. We can understand the leniency of an historian towards him, and are not surprised at the favourable judgment of Attaleiatês, who says that he was a good emperor till the end of his reign, when in a most unexpected manner he began a system of exactions.<sup>44</sup> 'He was generous in giving, and knew how to confer benefits in imperial style,' solicitous for military successes, but addicted to luxury and lechery. The commendatory clause about his generosity reminds us of a remark of Psellos, that the unwise profusion which he himself censures will furnish to other historians a theme for praise. Attaleiatês goes on to mention his love of amusement and buffoonery, and notes especially that he provided an elephant and a camelopard, of which animals he gives long descriptions, for the delectation of the Byzantine populace. He gratified his love of magnificence and followed the fashion of preceding monarchs by building a monastery and church, dedicated to St. George, with charming meadows attached to it. He also erected a hospital.

The emperor and the empress Zôê, who was now too old to be jealous, continued very good friends till her death in 1050. Theodôra fell back into her old secluded life, and her chief worldly pleasure consisted in hoarding money. Neither she nor Zôê cared for parks or gardens, or houses fitted with splendour and refinement. Zôê's taste was quite peculiar: she had a passion for perfumery. If you had entered her sleeping apartment, you might have thought you were in the workshop of a city mechanic. You would first be conscious of a very strong heat, which in winter might not be unwelcome, but in summer would drive the visitor away. The heat proceeded from an immense fire in the chamber, where you would have seen several maidservants engaged in the processes of brewing and mixing unguents and perfumes; one perhaps measuring the requisite quantities of the ingredients, another blending them, another boiling or distilling them, and Zôê herself, impervious to the heat at midsummer, directing or assisting them. One who desired to win her favour had only to send her a rare spice or a precious perfume. She used her compounds for the purposes of divine worship, for she was very religious.

As the empress was thus wholly devoted to the odours of sanctity, the emperor was sufficiently free to prosecute his amours. He had been married twice, and when his second wife, who belonged to the family of the Sklêroi, died, he fell in love with her niece Sklêraina, but did not marry her from religious scruples, which however did not hinder him from becoming Zôê's husband.

<sup>44</sup> *Hist.* p. 47: ἀνὴρ πολιτικὸς (which we may in the case of Constantine interpret by the negative of its antithesis, 'not military') καὶ γένους ἐπιστήμονι γινόμενος δωρηματικὸς τε καὶ βασιλικῶς εὐεργετῆρι ἐπιστάμενος, κ.τ.λ. On his accession Constantine ἡγάθυνε τὸ ὑπὲρκοον (p. 18).

Skléraina was his faithful companion during his exile, and in the day of his prosperity he did not forget her. As Psellos says, reminding us of a certain remark of Théophile Gautier, when he looked upon Zôê with the eyes of sense he saw Skléraina with the eyes of the spirit, and when he held the empress in his arms, his beloved was in the bosom of his soul. His first step was to recall Skléraina to the capital, to which he obtained his wife's consent. He kept her at first in a private residence, and set building operations afoot in order to have an excuse for visiting her, without exciting suspicion, several times a month,<sup>45</sup> and he used to entertain his attendants there with such sumptuous repasts that it was their interest to smooth the way for these secret trysts. He used to lavish the imperial treasures on his mistress, and as an example of his gifts Psellos mentions that, having found one day in the palace a bronze casket with carved work, he filled it with money and sent it to Skléraina. But he soon became bolder, and finally introduced her to the palace, where Zôê treated her amicably and conferred on her the title of Sebastê. A contract of friendship between the mistress and wife was drawn up in a written form, and the blushing senate, which was summoned to give its countenance to this measure of amity, praised the document as if it had fallen from heaven. On that day the two ladies sat together in the emperor's company, and Zôê did not betray the least chagrin, whether her feelings were really indifferent or her long experience of emperors and court life made her deem dissimulation advisable. But when the newcomer was once installed Zôê never visited her husband until she had assured herself that he was alone.

Skléraina was not remarkable for beauty, but was sufficiently goodlooking to give no opening for malicious remarks. Her sympathetic disposition and graceful manners won the heart of Psellos; and the stylist goes so far as to say that her 'speech was like nothing else, refined and flower-like, with a quite sophistic excellence in the rhythms; a sweet style ran along her tongue spontaneously, and when she described aught, indescribable charms hovered around.' She was a very good listener, and was fond of Greek mythology, on which she used often to question Psellos. We can picture to ourselves the young philosopher of twenty-five entertaining the imperial lady with fluent accounts of old Greek stories,

<sup>45</sup> Psellos, *History*, p. 127: ἵνα δὲ πρόφασιν εἴη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾶν οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ πεποιῆται τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ ἵνα δὴ μεγαλοπρεπὴς γένηται καὶ πρὸς βασιλικὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐπιτῆδεις θεμελίους τε ἔξωθεν μέζονας καταβάλλεται, κ.τ.λ. . . . Προσεποιεῖτο γοῦν ἐκδύστοτε ὃ, τι δῆποτε τῶν οἰκονομουμένων καὶ τοῦ μηνὸς πολλάκις ἀπείη, πρόφασιν μὲν ὀψόμενός τι τῶν γιγνομένων, κ.τ.λ. Zónaras (iv. p. 178) says that the emperor began the building of the monastery of Mangana for the same reason, λέγεται δὲ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἄρξασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐρωμένην αὐτῷ, τὴν Σκλήραιναν λέγω, ἣν ἐκείνη προσφοιτᾷ συνεχῶς, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Κυνηγίου ἐχούσῃ τότε δὴ τὴν κατοίκεισιν. Thus the house of Kynégios was the σκηνή.



full of plays upon words, and not unseasoned with adroit compliments and elegant adulation.

He tells an anecdote that Zôé attended by her court, her sister Theodôra and the Sebastê, who had not been seen in public with the imperial sisters before, went in procession to a spectacle; and a bystander expert in flattery cried aloud *οὐ νέμεσις*, without finishing the quotation.<sup>46</sup> Sklêrainâ said nothing at the time, but afterwards received an explanation of the words, and rewarded the man who had pronounced them most richly. She conciliated the goodwill of Zôé and Theodôra by making them presents suitable to their whims—coins to Theodôra, to Zôê Indian perfumes and scented woods, very small-sized olives and very white laurel-berries. With the expenses of the three ladies the treasures which Basil accumulated ‘with toil and the sweat of his brow’ were gaily and quickly spent on amusements. Psellos does not mention the tumult which Kedrênos alleges to have taken place in September 1044, owing to a general feeling of indignation against the influence of the mistress who seemed to be ousting the wife and sister-in-law. The multitude cried, ‘We will not have Sklêrainâ to reign over us, nor on her account shall our purple-born mothers (*μῆμαι*) Zôê and Theodôra die.’ Zôê herself quieted this disturbance. Not long after, its cause was carried off prematurely by asthma, and the emperor was inconsolable. Psellos declines to describe his puerile grief.

One of the personages at the Byzantine court in this reign was Boilas, a man who had a defect in his utterance and behaved as a sort of court jester. It was his defective speech and odd pronunciation that gained him the favour of Constantine, who delighted in nothing more than in personal oddity and silly conversation. He soon became so fond of this man—‘this hypocrite,’ as Psellos calls him, for his real character was knavery—that he could do nothing without him. He loaded him with the highest titles and granted free access to himself at all times, free use of all the private entrances and rooms of the palace. Boilas had all the privileges of an emperor’s fool. He managed even to gain access to the women’s apartments. He boldly asserted with oaths that both Zôê and Theodôra had brought forth children, and gave a detailed account of Theodôra’s confinement, repeating even the very words she uttered. These audacious inventions made him so formidable that the empresses opened all the secret doors to him, and he received innumerable gifts.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See Homer, *Il.* iii. 156—

*οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.*

Homer was perhaps as familiar in educated Byzantine society as Shakespeare is in England nowadays.

<sup>47</sup> Attaleiatês (p. 18) states that on the accession of Constantine IX Theodôra retired to her old solitary life. This seems to imply that she left the palace, which is in ac-

'But he was not content with this good fortune,' says Zónaras; 'he also coveted the empire.' Zónaras does not tell us what put this idea into his head, but we learn the reason from Psellos. After the death of Skléraina the emperor loved a young Alan princess, whom he kept as his concubine, and after the death of Zôê conferred on her the title of Sebastê.<sup>48</sup> Boilas became enamoured of her, and, not being able to succeed in his suit while Constantine was alive, conceived the notion of slaying him and ascending the throne. The design seemed to present no difficulty, as the emperor had complete confidence in him and was accustomed to sleep unguarded. But it was betrayed within less than an hour before its intended execution. One of the persons whom Boilas had taken into his counsels suddenly entered the emperor's chamber out of breath, and, having told him that his dear friend Boilas was about to assassinate him, fled to the chapel altar and confessed the whole conspiracy. Constantine could hardly believe that it was a fact, and was half glad at escaping the danger, half angry at the chance of losing his indispensable favourite. When the conspirator was brought to trial in fetters, he could not bear the sight and cried, 'Undo the fetters, for my heart is softened with pity for him.' He then tried to put his defence into his mouth, and at last Boilas approached him, and, kissing his hands and placing his head on his knees, said all he wanted was to sit on the throne with a diadem of pearls. The emperor leaped with joy, but his sister Euprepia and the empress Theodôra were so vexed at his folly that for mere shame he sent the delinquent for a few days in mock banishment to an island hard by the capital. The attachment of Boilas to the Alan princess was not however extinguished, and the emperor himself one day in the company of Psellos observed him making erotic signs to her, but looked on the matter as a joke.

Constantine Leichudês was invested with the administration of the empire in 1043 when Kêrularios became patriarch. Leichudês was an able and cultured man who had made a study of rhetoric

cordance with the fact that before Constantine's death she was conveyed to the palace by ship (Kedrênos, ii. 610). Moreover, when Skléraina was installed in the palace, it is mentioned that she and Zôê resided on either side of the emperor's apartments, μέσον δὲ σκηνοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκατέρωθεν ὄκουν παραλλὰς ἡ βασιλὺς καὶ ἡ Σεβαστή (Zónaras, p. 160); the residence of Theodôra is not mentioned. Nevertheless the incident recorded above about Boilas (see Psellos, *Hist.* pp. 172-3) implies that Theodôra resided in the palace, and when we compare the passage of Psellos from which the statement of Zónaras seems to be taken, we are led to the conclusion that Zónaras mistranslated it. Διανειμάμενοι δὲ τὰς οἰκήσεις ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸ μέσον ἔλαχε τῶν τριῶν αἱ δὲ πῆριξ ἐσκήρουν τὸ δὲ ἄδυτον εἶχεν ἡ Σεβαστή. Zónaras took τῶν τριῶν as meaning Constantine, Zôê, and Skléraina; whereas it really means Zôê, Theodôra, and Skléraina, and αἱ δὲ πῆριξ refers to Zôê and Theodôra. τὸ ἄδυτον means the innermost apartments it would correspond to the altar, πῆριξ to the two aisles, τὸ μέσον to the nave of a church.

<sup>48</sup> He did not marry her because he had been already married three times, and from a feeling of respect for Theodôra.

and had dipped deeper into the secrets of law than most of the Byzantine statesmen of the time, having sat at the feet of Joannēs Xiphilinos. He was an intimate friend of Psellos, who probably owed his advancement to him and honoured him with a panegyric oration after his death. From it we learn that he was born at Constantinople of good family, and was very precocious as a boy. He carried the rhetorical powers with which he was naturally gifted to great perfection; and he made his rhetorical and legal studies react upon each other—a point on which Psellos strongly insists.<sup>49</sup> We must not, of course, give too much weight to the glowing terms of eulogy in which his friend, the philosopher, speaks of his administration. He says that when Leichudēs came to the helm he showed himself at once fully equal to the very varied duties that demanded his attention, and displayed the most astonishing versatility;<sup>50</sup> he had the useful power of being all things to all men. Skylitzēs also bears witness to the high reputation he bore as a minister;<sup>51</sup> but his capacity is best attested by the fact that he held the same office under Isaac Komnēnos and was elected patriarch after the fall of Kērularios. In everything, we are told by Psellos, he aimed at symmetry; his dress was neither very plain nor very rich, his table neither poorly furnished nor luxurious, his step measured, his speech at once dignified and fluent. In state documents his style was simple, pure, and ordinary; but he could write good ‘Attic.’

It was probably by his suggestion that Constantine changed the constitution of the senate and made the qualification merit instead of birth. He made an important reform in the administration of justice, by which the judges in the various themes were to commit their sentences to writing and deposit them in public registers. And there is no doubt that his influence contributed largely to the revival of the study of philosophy, rhetoric, and law, under the able guidance of Constantine, Psellos, and Joannēs Xiphilinos.

The university of Constantinople which had been founded by Theodosios II lived for only three centuries. The study of letters declined in the seventh century, and the emperor who founded the great dynasty of the iconoclasts, Leo III, abolished the university because the professors refused to support his religious doctrines.

<sup>49</sup> For his law studies see *Epitaphios*, p. 395; cf. *History*, p. 188. ‘He was a canon of orthography (correct writing), a manual of rhetoric, a chalkline of legislation.’

<sup>50</sup> *Epitaphios*, p. 401: οὗτός τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους τὰς γνῶμας διάφορος ἦν.

<sup>51</sup> Skylitzēs (Kedrēnos, vol. ii. Bonn ed.), p. 644, recording his election to the patriarchate, speaks of him as ἀνὴρ μέγιστον διαλάμπας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Μονομάχου καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τηνικᾶδε καιροῦ καὶ μέγα κλέος ἐπὶ τῷ μεσασμῷ τῆς τῶν ὅλων διοικήσεως ἀνενεγκάμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν Μαγγάνων προνοίας καὶ τῶν δικαιομάτων φύλαξ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημίνου βασιλέως καταλειφθείς. The expression by which the chief minister was denoted was ὁ παραδυναστεύων τῷ βασιλεῖ, but in the time of Constantine IX the phrase ὁ μεσάζων came into use; hence τῷ μεσασμῷ in this passage.

In the ninth century Theophilos licensed Leo, the famous scholar of his day, to give public lectures; and Constantine VII, himself a prolific author, encouraged the writing or compiling of books on an extensive scale. But there was no organised system of teaching in the empire, no recognised body of men to whose judgments questions of learning might be deferred. Constantine IX had the honour of being the second founder of the university, though on a far more modest scale than the scheme of Theodosios. Two chairs were instituted, one for law and one for philosophy. The site of this new academy was a church of St. Peter.

Psellos, who was the prime instigator of this revival of letters, gives an account of his first interview with Constantine, which is amusing from its naive self-conceit. He was well known at court, having been under-secretary in the preceding reign, and had a high repute for his learning and fluent speech. 'My tongue,' he writes, 'has a certain flowery grace even in simple utterances, and without any intention or preparation certain natural qualities of sweetness distil from it;' he knew this from the manifest effect he produced on interlocutors. When he appeared before the emperor, he informed him of his family, and of the nature and scope of his studies; and the impressionable monarch was so enthusiastic at the philosopher's speech and manner that he hung upon his lips and wellnigh kissed him.

Psellos was appointed to the chair of philosophy, and his friend Joannēs Xiphilinos to the chair of law. Xiphilinos was a native of Trapezūs who came to study at Constantinople. These two students, with their friends Leichudēs and Joannēs Mauropūs,<sup>52</sup> formed a sort of new literary movement in Byzantium. In particular Psellos revived Platonism, which he valued above the ecclesiastical Aristotelianism in vogue, and he introduced a new atticising style, which was followed by Anna Komnēnē, Zōnaras, Nikētas, &c. A tendency to purism—exclusion of colloquial and Latin words—may be traced even at the end of the tenth century in Leo Diakonos, who, in this respect, shows a particularity which is quite foreign to Constantine Porphyrogennētos, Theophanēs, or John Malalas. But Leo was not a stylist like Psellos; we may consider him the model of Attaleiatēs and Skylitzēs. These writers do not scruple to introduce a foreign or vulgar word when their meaning requires it—for example *τζουκανιστήριον* or *ἐξκούβιτα*, words which Psellos would avoid, or, if he strained a point and admitted them, would apologise for. For the *Hellēnismos* on which the princess Anna prided herself she was altogether indebted to the movement initiated by Psellos, and but for his influence in the

<sup>52</sup> This scholar was a relation of Leichudēs. He was afterwards appointed archbishop of Euchaitoi. Letters of Psellos to him are extant, and he speaks of him and Xiphilinos as 'the two Johns,' τὰ ἰωάννη.

revival of Platonic studies she could never have boasted that she had studied Plato's dialogues.<sup>53</sup> To this resurrection of the 'divine' philosopher in the eleventh century is perhaps ultimately traceable also the Platonism of Gemistos Pléthôn, who wrote in the fifteenth century. We must note that Psellos considered the study of Greek philosophy necessary to the thorough comprehension of Christianity.<sup>54</sup>

Joannēs Xiphilinos was appointed custodian of the laws, *nomophylax*, as well as professor of law. He was a man renowned for piety as well as for learning, and bore a high reputation. Modern writers on the *Jus Græco-romanum* have not been aware of his identity, knowing him only as he is cited in scholia on the Basilika by the name Joannēs Nomophylax, and only conjecturing his date to be the middle of the eleventh century from the fact that in one scholion his opinion is opposed to that of Garidas, who was a distinguished lawyer of that age.<sup>55</sup> No one thought of identifying the scholiast on the Basilika with that Joannēs Xiphilinos of whom Attaleiatēs and Skylitzēs give short notices.<sup>56</sup> This identification is demonstrated by the writings of Psellos.<sup>57</sup>

When Monomachos came to the throne, he sent a manifesto throughout the provinces to declare his accession and to promise to his subjects freedom of speech, the abolition of all abuses, and

<sup>53</sup> τὸ ἐλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον ἐσπουδακὺία καὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς Ἀριστοτελικὰς τέχνας εὖ ἀναλεξαμένη καὶ τοὺς Πλάτωνος διαλόγους (Anna, Bonn ed. i. 4). Compare an article by Mr. Freeman on 'Some Points in the later History of the Greek Language,' in which the 'Renaissance,' as he calls it, is duly insisted on. 'Go on to Leo the deacon, still more go on to Anna Komnênê and Nikêtas. . . . We are landed in a Renaissance' (*Journal for Hellenic Studies*, iii. 377). Psellos intervenes between Leo and Anna, and explains the 'still more.'

<sup>54</sup> In an exhortation to his pupils (*Opuscula*, ed. Boissonade, pp. 151-3, quoted by Sathas, preface to vol. iv. p. li) he says: By studying Greek metaphysics, 'ye will be drawing fresh water from salt water like mariners. For what do they? When in mid ocean they find themselves unprovided with fresh water, they hang sponges over the sea, and compressing the collected vapour into water have a perfectly sweet draught. So ye likewise, if ye suspend your souls above the brine of Hellênic doctrines and convert the heavy and terrestrial sound which is wafted up from them into a light and treble note, will perhaps hear the sweet melody of the highest string.'

<sup>55</sup> Attaleiatēs, *Hist.* p. 21: ἐκαίνισε δὲ (Constantine IX) καὶ δέκρετον δικῶν ιδιωτικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων καλέσας τὸν τούτου πρόχροντα—that is Xiphilinos. Garidas flourished in the reign of Constantine Dûkas, and was the author of *διαίρεσις περὶ φωνῶν* (a tract which he dedicated to that emperor) and a *βιβλίον περὶ ἀγωγῶν*. See Heimbach's notice of him in *Griechisch-römische Recht*.

<sup>56</sup> Attaleiatēs, p. 92: ἦν γὰρ τῆς συνόδου προεξάρχων καὶ τὴν πατριαρχίαν κοσμών Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπικεκλημένος Ξιφιλίνος ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος μὲν ὠρμημένος ἀνὴρ δὲ σοφὴς καὶ παιδεύσεως εἰς ἄκρον ἐλλητικῶς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς περὶ βλεπτος γεγονῶς καὶ ἀρετῆς εὐφρόνως ἐπιμελούμενος ὥστε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἔτι ἐμφιλοχωρῶν καὶ πρῶτα φέρων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐμερίας καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀσπάζασθαι καὶ τὸν ἀναχωρητικὸν βίον περὶ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ὕψος ἐλόμενος χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν ἦν διαλάμπων ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ φόβῳ θεοῦ. The corresponding passage in Skylitzēs (p. 658) reproduces this, with some omissions, almost verbally.

<sup>57</sup> See especially his *Epitaphios* on Xiphilinos.



abundance of all blessings.<sup>58</sup> This was in fact a notification that his policy would be quite the reverse of that of the Paphlagonians. And until the last years of his reign he seems to have realised these promises, or allowed Leichudēs to realise them, as far as the wars in which he was involved permitted him. But towards the end of his reign he became dissatisfied with the administration of his chancellor, because (says Psellos) he envied his power and felt uneasy under his restraint. It seemed as if Leichudēs were the emperor and Constantine the minister. But the true reason for this dissatisfaction was, we can have no doubt, that the emperor wanted more money than Leichudēs could provide, and Leichudēs was not prepared to be unscrupulous. Kedrēnos refers this want of money to the expenses incurred in building the monastery of Mangana.<sup>59</sup> Psellos perceived a change in the sentiments of Monomachos towards Leichudēs and told the matter to his friend, but he refused to make any alteration in his attitude. The emperor deposed him—not suddenly, but gradually—and with this act we must connect the ‘great and unexpected change’ for the worse which took place in the administration. ‘He attached himself to clever tax-collecting officers whom official language names *sekretikoi* [thus Attaleiatēs apologises for using a non-Hellenic word]; with them he invented unforeseen fines and arrears, and, as it were, extracted the marrow of those who had any degree of wealth.’<sup>60</sup> The prisons were filled with the bankrupt and ruined. Special dissatisfaction was given by seizing property destined for churches and supplies intended for monasteries. In another way too he injured the empire. He disbanded the Iberian army in order that the treasury might receive in money the equivalent of the supplies which those provinces furnished in kind to the army. The chief of these unscrupulous financiers was a eunuch, the logothete Joannēs.<sup>61</sup> He was a man of so little education that he could not speak or write grammatically correct Greek; his birth was base, and he was unfit for the higher branches of the administration; in fact, he was quite the reverse of Leichudēs whom he succeeded. The new order of things was so oppressive that Constantine’s death (January 1055) was universally felt to be a relief. Yet before his end he seems to have repented his dismissal of Leichudēs.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Kedrēnos, p. 542: πάντες μὲν ἀγαθοὺ βλύσιν καὶ παρρησίῳ πάσης δὲ κακίας ἀποτομήν. In the same place his promotions in the senate and his largesses to the people are mentioned.

<sup>59</sup> Kedrēnos, p. 602, where his new ministers are called δημοσίους . . . φροντιστὰς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλδοστορας.

<sup>60</sup> Attaleiatēs, p. 50: ἐκμνελίζων is the strong word used of this bleeding. The disbanding of the army of Iberia is recorded by Kedrēnos.

<sup>61</sup> Our knowledge of Joannēs is due to Zōnaras (iv. 180), who says that he was the reverse in every respect of Leichudēs. For some time before the deposition of the latter the two men were drawing the emperor in different ways.

<sup>62</sup> Skylitzēs, p. 644: καὶ τῶν δικιωμάτων φύλαξ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου βασιλέως

The change that had come over the spirit of the emperor, who in small matters had always a character for instability and want of seriousness, produced a general feeling of uncertainty and want of confidence, which was shared by Psellos and his friends. He and Xiphilinos had always felt a leaning towards the spiritual life, and they considered that the time had come to take the step. So they took an oath together, which Xiphilinos at least kept with an equal mind until he was elected patriarch, to spend the rest of their lives in the seclusion of a monastery. They alleged bodily illnesses in order to obtain the emperor's permission to retire; but with Psellos, 'with whose tongue he was dreadfully in love,' he was unwilling to part.<sup>63</sup> He first wrote most touching letters to him, which Psellos preserved, and when writing his history some years later was unable to read without weeping. When entreaties were of no avail, he used threats. But Psellos took the step of cutting his hair, and then Constantine, resigning himself gracefully, wrote an epistle of congratulation that he had chosen the better life and preferred the monk's gown to the soft raiment of a palace.

With Psellos and Xiphilinos vanished also the more refined tastes which their presence induced the emperor to cultivate. On their retirement he had recourse to amusements of the senses,<sup>64</sup> of which Psellos gives one instance. He caused a large basin to be dug in the middle of a park and to be filled with water up to the brim, so that it was on a level with the surrounding land. The emperor used to lie in wait in order to observe and laugh at the mishaps of unwary persons who, advancing to pluck fruit from the trees with which the park was stocked, would sometimes walk into the water. He afterwards made a summer-house in this park close to the pond, in which he used constantly to bathe; and, perhaps from remaining in the water too long, he got an attack of pleurisy which brought on his death.

The military history of Constantine's reign has been given in full detail by Kedrénos. The chief events were the revolt of Maniakês, the Russian war, the Servian war, the Patzinak invasions, the Saracen war and loss of Armenia, the revolt of Tornikios, the invasions of the Seljuk Turks. Only three of these are described by Psellos—the revolts of Maniakês and Tornikios and the Russian

καταλειφθείς. For the deposition of Leichudês, cf. Psellos, *Epitaphios* on L., p. 405: καὶ γε θαυμάζων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν τούτῳ ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι ὃν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς δοκιμάσας ἠκρίβωσε τούτων ὡς ἄρτι διαγινώσκων κατητιόσατο μεθιστῆ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ τεταγὼς ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίῳ, τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ ἔπους· ἤδεῖτο γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀχθόμενος τούτῳ οὐδέ πού παρακρημνίσας, ἀλλὰ βραχύ τι τοῦ ἐχήματος παρωσάμενος, ἔν' αἰδέσιμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μετὰστασις γένοιτο.

<sup>63</sup> Psellos used to serve up his philosophy in a light and superficial dress to suit the light and superficial mind of the emperor. When he was tired of philosophy, he used to treat him to rhetoric (*Hist.* p. 196).

<sup>64</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν αἰσθήσει πάλιν κατέφυνε χάριτας (p. 198).

war. Of the well-known circumstances of the life of George Maniakēs we learn nothing new, but receive a vivid impression of his personal appearance. Psellos had seen and admired him standing nearly ten feet high, like a mountain or a pillar.<sup>65</sup> The expression of his countenance was not delicate nor pleasing, but like a volcano; his voice was as the voice of thunder, his hands were stalwart to shake walls to pieces or crush bronze gates between them, his gait was as a lion's, and his shadowy eyebrows gave him a grim look. In personal might and bravery he must have been equal to the bravest and mightiest western knight; and he was a worthy fellow of the adventurous Norseman Harald Haardrada, with whom he sailed in the Ægean and fought in Sicily, and, if we may believe the saga, sometimes quarrelled.<sup>66</sup> It was in the reign of Rômanos in Syria that Maniakēs first gained reputation as a warrior and a general. At the beginning of the reign of Michael IV he was despatched to Sicily against the Saracens, and the castle of Maniakēs still exists at Syracuse to attest his successes. On an absurd accusation of conspiracy he was recalled to Constantinople and imprisoned (1040), but was released by Michael V. Sicily had in the meantime been lost, but he was appointed commander in Calabria and Longibardia, and there he won a battle near Monopoli which was as fruitless in its results as the great victory of Remata had been in Sicily. A private wrong determined him to return to the east, and his conduct was interpreted as treasonable. Psellos blames Constantine for his want of tact in dealing with Maniakēs. At the beginning he should have loaded him with honours, and at least subsequently, when he heard rumours that he intended to revolt, he should have feigned ignorance. Moreover, he sent the most unfit messengers—the men who were most likely to provoke the general. Maniakēs was killed by a stray arrow in the battle near Ostrovos; otherwise he might have anticipated Isaac Komnēnos.

Psellos was an eye-witness of the naval engagements with the Russians, which took place in the Bosphorus within sight of the palace in the summer of 1043. A tumult between some Greeks and the Russian traders resident in Constantinople, in which one distinguished Russian was killed, furnished the pretext of the expedition. This

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Constantine Manassēs, l. 6284 :

ἀνὴρ γιγαντοπλάμος δ' ἐξ ἑοῦ ἀνδρεφόντης  
θρασύσπλαγχνος εὐκάρδιος πνέων δ' ἄρ' ἦς ἐκθύμου.

The chosen men who fought with him in the battle of Ostrovos were also γιγαντόσωμοι.

<sup>66</sup> The sources for the career of Harald Haardrada in southern Europe are: (1) Annalista Saxo (Pertz, vi. 695); (2) Adam of Bremen (Pertz, vii. 339, 31, and 341, 24); (3) Theodosius Monachus, *De regibus veteribus Norvagicis* (*Script. Rer. Dan.* v. 333, cap. 25); (4) the Saga of Harald in the Heimskringla of Snorro, for which see *Script. Hist. Island.* vi. 125, or Laing's translation of the Heimskringla; (5) the runic inscriptions on the lions formerly in the Peiræus, now in the arsenal of Venice, interpreted by Rafn.



fact we learn from Zónaras, but it is completely ignored by Psellos, who informs us that this expedition had been designed and delayed for many years. Basil Bulgaroktonos had completely cowed the Russians, but after the death of his brother Constantine they began to revive their hostile projects. The reign of Rōmanos, however, seemed to them too brilliant, and they were themselves too ill prepared to venture ; but when Michael IV, a nobody, came to the throne, they decided to hesitate no longer. But before their preparations were completed Michael died, and in a few months afterwards Constantine IX became emperor.<sup>67</sup> Though they had no reason for making war on him, they determined to do so, lest their preparations should go for nothing. It seems to me that the silence of Psellos as to the ostensible pretext of the war is not only intentional, but pointed ; that he not only disregarded it as a mere pretext which had nothing to do with the real cause, but ignored it in pointed opposition to a contemporary historian who laid undue weight on it. During the engagements Psellos was standing beside the emperor, and he gives a clear account of what happened, which Zónaras follows.

The revolt of Leon Tornikios took place several years later (1047). He was a sort of second cousin of the emperor on the mother's side, and resided in Adrianople. He was very intimate with Euprepia, the emperor's rich sister, who was a woman with a mind of her own, on whom her brother consequently looked with suspicion and treated with caution as a strong-minded person cleverer than himself. She seldom visited him, and when she did so spoke out her sentiments with sisterly frankness.<sup>68</sup> The emperor suspected her intimacy with Tornikios, and gave him an appointment in Iberia. His enemies accused him in his absence of treasonable intention, but it was not till Euprepia defended him (this point is omitted by Zónaras) that Constantine sent persons to cause him to become a monk. When he returned in monastic guise to the capital, the emperor jeered at him, but Euprepia opened her house to him. The dissatisfied Macedonian faction, 'men most ready to devise anything wild and most energetic in executing it,' most punctilious in concealing and faithful in keeping their secret compacts, fixed on Leo as the most suitable leader, and conveyed him secretly to their head-quarters, Adrianopolis, which Psellos is not guilty, like Zónaras, of calling Orestias.

<sup>67</sup> These observations are unsatisfactory, in that Psellos does not explain why the preparations of the Russians occupied so long a time.

<sup>68</sup> Psellos, *Hist.* p. 149 : [τὴν δ' ἑτέραν] οὔτε τι λαμπρὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κομῶσαν καὶ εἰς περιφάνειαν τύχης ἐληλυθυῖαν, φρονήματός τε πλήρη τυγχάνουσιν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπασῶν ὧν ἐγὼ θεάμαι σταθροτάτην τε οὖσαν καὶ δυσπαράγωγον, κ.τ.λ., Zónaras, iv. 163 : γυνὴ γενναία τε καὶ σταθροτάτη τὸ φρόνημα καὶ εἰς τύχης ἐλάσασα περιφάνειαν καὶ εἰς πλούτου βασιλείαν —which shows that the text of Psellos as it stands can hardly be correct. Something more than τὴν δ' ἑτέραν must have fallen out before οὔτε. The name of Constantine's other sister was Helena.

The first important step was to win the troops stationed in the western provinces to their side, and in this they soon succeeded. The emperor was not popular with the army, and Zónaras describes their desertion to the usurper as entirely due to this. Nevertheless it does not appear that they were quite so ready to take his part, for according to Psellos the leaders of the revolt were obliged to resort to a ruse in order to gain the support of the military captains. They sent round a number of agents to the different regiments with the news that the emperor was dead, and that Theodôra had selected the Macedonian Leo Tornikios, in consideration of his good family, his mental ability, and energetic disposition, as the new emperor. He adds that in addition to the effect of this artifice hatred of the sovereign was operative. When the preparations were complete, they advanced to the siege of the capital.

One of the first measures of Constantine when he heard of the revolt was to banish his sister Euprepia. As the troops of the east could not arrive for several days, and all the forces he could muster did not fully amount to 1,000, it was out of the question for him to take the field; his only chance was to defend Constantinople until succour arrived. He was very unwell at the time, suffering from gout and a severe attack of diarrhœa; and a rumour spread in the city that he was dead. The citizens collected to consider the advisability of joining the usurper, and the emperor, ill though he was, had to dispel the false rumour by appearance in public. In the meantime Leo was acting as if he were already monarch; for as he had no money the only way in which he could reward or secure partisans was to remit taxes, distribute titles, and appoint ministers. One quality in his favour was his military experience; men wished to see a soldier on the throne who could in person defend the empire against Turks or Patzinaks, like Basil or John Tzimiskês; for the only thing military about Monomachos was his name.

The army encamped round the whole city, and the first assault took place in the early morning. Both the emperor and the tyrant were conspicuous, the latter riding on a white horse, the former sitting on a balcony that overlooked the field of action. Among the spectators of the *teichomachy* and the attendants of the emperor was Psellos.

The siege lasted for three days, which Zónaras, though he follows Psellos, has not carefully distinguished, and in some respects has confounded.<sup>69</sup> On the first morning the chief hostilities consisted of the buffooneries of the Macedonians, who danced and acted in a manner insulting to the emperor. Constantine himself had a narrow escape; an arrow aimed at him passed very close and grazed the side of a court minion who was standing by. This incident forced the emperor and his company, including Psellos, to retire. In the

<sup>69</sup> He has thrown the first and second days into one.

afternoon the forces of the besieged were increased by some civilians who volunteered and a few soldiers who were extracted from the prisons. The night was spent in digging a trench round the city, and the next morning the besiegers found a larger force drawn up in front of the gates than they had seen the day before. At first they were afraid that the army from the east had arrived; but soon, perceiving that it consisted of a town mob, they leaped over the narrow and shallow trench with loud cries and put the tumultuary band to flight. If this assault had been followed up, a change in the sovereignty might have taken place on that day, but Leo restrained the pursuit, hoping perhaps to enter the city as an emperor invited by citizens, not as a victorious general taking possession of a vanquished town. The policy of Leo throughout was to conciliate the inhabitants of the capital, and Constantine said he was more afraid of these kindly words than of anything else. On the third day a stone was thrown at the usurper, and though it missed him forced him and his party to flee. This created a panic and saved Constantine. The besiegers remained a few days inactive before the walls, and then, abandoning the siege, retired to Arkadiopolis. In the meantime the eastern troops arrived, and Tornikios was deserted by his followers. His eyes were put out, and the same punishment befell Joannēs Vatatzēs, a man celebrated for his strength and bravery, who was a sworn comrade of Tornikios and generously refused to desert him in his extremity.

Joannēs, the eunuch, and others induced Constantine shortly before his death to select Nikêphoros Prôteuôn as his successor. But the design was frustrated by the promptness of Theodôra, who immediately appeared in the palace and was recognised as empress.

§ 9. *Theodôra*.—It was expected that Theodôra would choose a partner to share the duties and prerogatives of imperial power, and there were some complaints uttered when it was found out that she had no such intention. Nevertheless her rule seems to have been popular and to have called forth no disloyalty, though some grumbled—for example the patriarch Kêrularios<sup>70</sup>—that the government of a woman exercised an effeminate influence on the empire. Yet Psellos says that she showed no weakness, on the contrary a degree of decision which might almost seem hardness.

Her chief minister was Leo Strabospondylēs, and Attaleiatēs speaks in most favourable terms of his administration.<sup>71</sup> He was a man of sense and experience, and most careful to maintain the law.

<sup>70</sup> Psellos, *Hist.* p. 207.

<sup>71</sup> P. 52: εἴτ' ἀνεγκοῦσα τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρὶ τινὶ ἱερωμένῳ τε (he was synkellos of the patriarch) καὶ συνέσεως γέμοντι καὶ πολυπειρίας οὐκ ἀποδέοντι (λέων προσηγορία τῷ ἀνδρὶ) τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐπεικῶς οὖν οὗτος ἐν ἅπασιν ἐνεργῶν καὶ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς παρεμπίπτουσι χρώμενος καὶ τὸν νόμον ποιοῦμενος βούλημα πᾶσαν εὐταξίαν καὶ εὐνομίαν πεποίηκε πολιτεύεσθαι. He refers the state of domestic peace (ἁσασίαςτον) in Theodora's reign to the fact that God was pleased with this ἀγαθοεργία.

Even Psellos, who speaks unfavourably of him, admits that he possessed ability and does not impugn his honesty. But he had not, or did not choose to practise, the conciliatory manners of a courtier and the smooth arts of a diplomatist; he was not endowed with readiness and fluency of speech; he used to sit in silence and look at the ceiling, and was so careless or awkward in expressing himself that he often conveyed to his hearers exactly the opposite of what he intended. This want of a statesmanlike exterior—of political *ēthos*, as Psellos says—created an unfavourable opinion; and his roughness made him unpopular. Yet he was free from all taint of bribery or avarice, and gave generous and magnificent entertainments.

The significance of the position of Leo in the reigns of Theodōra and Michael VI we can determine from two facts. He had been the minister of Michael IV,<sup>72</sup> and he was passed over by Constantine IX,<sup>73</sup> whose policy had been guided by opposition to the Paphlagonians. He seems to have been a rival of Constantine Leichudēs, and the two men are contrasted by Psellos. I think I shall not be mistaken in conjecturing that Michael V, among his many reactionary acts, deposed Leo from office and appointed Leichudēs in his place. Hence the administrations of Theodōra and Michael VI bear the character of a reaction against that of Constantine IX, just as that of Constantine was a reaction against the government of Michael IV, and as that of Isaac Komnēnos was a reaction against the Macedonian Basilians.

Before her death<sup>74</sup> Theodōra placed the diadem on the head of a man already stricken in years, Michael VI, whom Leo and his party selected as a man likely to be manageable and weak.

§ 10. *Michael VI.*—The position of the new emperor rested on his nomination by Theodōra and on the support of a strong political party, headed by Leo the synkellos. By generosity and promotions he exerted himself to please the members of the senate and the various civil functionaries; he also cultivated popularity with the people.<sup>75</sup>

But he was too old and too inexperienced to understand the political situation and the dangers which at that very moment were lurking around his throne; and so at the very outset he committed a radical mistake which produced the immediate operation

<sup>72</sup> Zōnaras, iv. 181: τὸ πάλαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Μιχαήλ ὑπηρετήσαντι.

<sup>73</sup> Psellos, *Hist.* p. 206: ὁ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ὅλων πεπιστευμένους διοίκησιν . . . ἐπειδὴ μὴ τῶν πρωτείων ἤξιωτο παρ' ἐκείνου (Constantine) μηδὲ παρὰ τῇ ἐκείνου εἰσότηκει πλευρᾷ, ὅπερ δὴ αὐτῷ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς προτοῦ βασιλεύειν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ζῶντι ἐμέμφετο καὶ ἀπεληλυθότι τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐμνησικακήσεν. These words express clearly enough Leo's position.

<sup>74</sup> August 30, 1056 (not 1057, as stated in Finlay's *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 449).

<sup>75</sup> Compare Psellos, *Hist.* p. 209 (Zōnaras, iv. 182). He promote too rapidly: οὐ γὰρ τῷ προσεχεῖ ἕκαστον συνίστα βαθμῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐφεξῆς καὶ τὸν ἐπέκεινα ἀνεβίβαζεν.

of the very elements by which those dangers were threatened. While he showed marked kindness to the senate and the people he pointedly and designedly ignored the army.

Now the army had been long discontented.<sup>76</sup> The soldiers were tired of emperors ignorant of warfare, who devoted themselves to civil affairs and took little personal interest in the army, and the commanders felt keenly that their position was a very secondary one in the empire; for the succession depended on the ministers, not on the generals.

And now that the Basilian line was extinct—connexion with which had been a palladium for the preceding monarchs—it behoved the new sovereign to deal most warily and delicately with the military power.

But Michael was too old and stupid to see this.<sup>77</sup> He had the idea—a false generalisation derived from the reigns of his immediate predecessors—that his supremacy rested altogether on the civil power, and that the army, like a subordinate servant, was a *quantité négligeable*. He combined all the stubborn conservative tendencies of an old man with that love of making reforms in trivial matters which is perhaps also a characteristic of the old.<sup>78</sup>

He especially offended Katakālōn Kekaumenos, duke of Antioch, whom he deprived of that post in favour of his own nephew Michael. Katakālōn and Isaac Komnēnos, with a number of other distinguished officers, presented themselves before the emperor to remonstrate with him on his injustice and imprudence; but he would not listen to them, and overwhelmed Katakālōn with reproaches. Psellos, who had been recalled to court by Theodōra, and was sometimes consulted by her and Michael, was present at this scene.

The insulted generals made another attempt to influence Michael through the medium of his counsellor Leo; but Leo did not attempt to mollify them and only exasperated them more. It is not necessary to suppose that they had any share in instigating the unsuccessful and unimportant insurrection of Theodosios Monomachos, which took place at about this time.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Psellos, *Hist.* p. 212: ἐβούλοντο μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ξύμπαν τὸ κράτος Ῥωμαίων ὑποποιήσασθαι καὶ ὑπῆκοι γενέσθαι στρατηγῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν καταλῦσαι τῆς βασιλείας διαδοχὴν.

<sup>77</sup> Manassēs describes Michael as ἄνδρα τινὰ μακρόβιον πέμπελον τρομαλέον (l. 6331), and speaks of the military commanders as

καταφρονούντες Μιχαὴλ ἄντικρυς ὡς ἀνίκμου  
κράμβης ἀφύλλου γηραιῶς ἥδη διερρευσίας.

<sup>78</sup> See Kedrēnos, ii. p. 614. For example, he wished to enact that the heads of the citizens should no longer be covered δι' ἀγραμμάτων ὡς νῦν ἀλλὰ διὰ μεγαλογράμμων ὀθονίων ἐκ βυσσοῦ πορφύρας ἐξυφασμένων.

<sup>79</sup> Zōnaras, iv. 184. The Byzantine populace jeered at the feeble attempt of Monomachos in words that, if the text of Zōnaras is correct, are appropriately feeble: ὁ δὲ ὡς ἡ ὄχλος ἐπεγγελῶντες ῥήματά τινα συνθέντες ἐπῆδον αὐτῷ· τὰ δ' ἦσαν,

ὁ μωρὸς ὁ Μονομάχος, εἴ τι ἐφρόνει, ἐποίησε.

They determined to overthrow Michael, and unanimously selected Isaac as his successor. Having made this arrangement, they withdrew from Constantinople to their estates in Asia Minor to mature their plans and collect their forces. Isaac took his measures with the utmost caution, and perfect order prevailed in his camp. Money was absolutely necessary for his success, and he raised it by regular and accurately defined impositions, and by intercepting all the wealth that happened to be on its way to the capital. Along with the rich and influential noblemen Katakālôn and Rômanos Sklêros, Isaac hoped to have the aid of Nikêphoros Bryennios, the commander of the Macedonian regiments and governor of Kappadokia, who had been also offended by the emperor. But in the Anatolic theme, where he took up his quarters, he quarrelled with Opsaras, who was loyal to Michael, and his eyes were put out.<sup>80</sup> The rebels took up their quarters at Nikaia.

But in Constantinople itself there was not an undivided adherence to the emperor. There was a large party which wished to dethrone him, and which was, we need not hesitate to assume, in direct communication with the leaders of the insurrection. What lent this party special weight was that the patriarch Kêrularios was hostile to the government and the emperor; and Kêrularios, of whom I shall have more to say, was a man of unusual energy and importance. One can hardly avoid conjecturing that he and Isaac had arranged the whole matter between them before the latter left the capital.

In this position of affairs Michael VI took counsel with men who had played a prominent part in the days of Monomachos, but whom he had hitherto gladly dispensed with.<sup>81</sup> In particular he asked the advice of Psellos. Psellos suggested three things: first, that he should become reconciled with the patriarch, as he might be able to give most powerful assistance to the usurper; <sup>82</sup> secondly, that he should send a conciliatory embassy to Isaac; thirdly, that he should collect all the military forces available (the western troops, some eastern troops that had been left in the capital, the foreign guards), obtain succour from neighbouring states, and appoint a competent general.

Let us hope that the words had at least the form of a 'political' verse, and ran, by a slight transposition,

ὁ Μονομάχος, ὁ μωρός, ἐποίησ' εἴ τι 'φρόνει.

<sup>80</sup> See Zônaras, iv. 185.

<sup>81</sup> Psellos, *Hist.* p. 214: ἄλλους τε πλείους μετακαλεῖται τῶν γενναίων μὲν τὰς γνώμας τηνικαῦτα δὲ κατολιγωρηθέντων· καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἐισποιεῖται καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἔχοι πάλα ἐγκόλπιον ὡς ἄποπὸν τι πεποιηκῶς σχηματίζεται.

<sup>82</sup> *Ib.*: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐγνώκειν ὅτι ἐκ διαφόρου γνώμης τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀντικαθεστήκοι ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ δυσόργως εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ γνώμην αὐτῷ πρώτῃν ταύτην εἰσηνεγκα πᾶσαν αὐτῷ διαφορὰν διαλύσασθαι . . . ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μάλιστα δυναμένῳ καιροῖς καὶ συνεπιθησομένῳ τοῖς τυραννεύουσιν εἰ μὴ προλάβοι τούτων εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην οἰκείωσιν. It is quite possible that Psellos knew of the intentions of Kêrularios.



The first part of this advice was not followed, and the second part was set aside until the third had been tried. Michael appointed Theodôros, a eunuch of the empress Theodôra,<sup>83</sup> and Aaron, a relative of the wife of Isaac Komnênos, to the command of his troops, and they encamped over against Nikaia. But neither soldiers nor commanders were loyal. 'The commander of the forces,' says Psellos—'his name I need not mention—was a waverer, or rather, as I fancy, a partisan.'<sup>84</sup> Further on he tells us that the president Theodôros had a secret understanding with Komnênos. Hence we may conclude that the unnamed commander was Aaron. The result was that the emperor's army was defeated.

After some days Michael resolved to send an embassy to Komnênos. He engaged on this commission three men of moderation and distinction, who were not identified with his own policy, and who would carry weight with the revolutionists. He first called Michael Psellos, on whose persuasive fluency he doubtless relied as a valuable auxiliary, and asked him to undertake the negotiation. Psellos says he was unwilling and yielded only to entreaties, making the condition that he might select a colleague. He chose Leo Alôpos, a distinguished member of the senate,<sup>85</sup> and they chose a third, Constantine Leichudês. They helped the emperor to compose a letter, of which the purport was to offer the rank of Cæsar to Komnênos.

The envoys sent a notice beforehand to Komnênos of their approach, and obtained a sworn promise of their personal safety in his camp. They were received with great cordiality and rejoicings; and in an interview with Isaac on the evening of their arrival nothing passed between them but commonplace civilities.<sup>86</sup>

The next morning Isaac, surrounded with imperial pomp, gave them a public audience. The doors of his tent were suddenly thrown open that the splendour might all at once burst on the amazed multitude, with whose cheers and shouts the ears of Psellos and his companions were dinned. When the noise ceased they saw Isaac in sumptuous raiment, sitting on a raised gilt throne, resting his feet on a footstool. His fixed eyes testified to the preoccupation of his mind, and his face bore marks of the recent conflict. The historian describes in full the successive circles of guards or attendants which stood around the throne, among whom the most striking were the foreign mercenaries, 'the Italians and Taurosythians.' The ambassadors, at the sovereign's sign, approached near

<sup>83</sup> Theodôra had created him *proedros*, and afterwards commander of the eastern army (Psellos, p. 216).

<sup>84</sup> ἀμφιρρεπής ἦν ὡς δ' ἐγῶμαι μονομερής.

<sup>85</sup> ἀγὼ αἰρούμαι τὸν κάλλιστόν τε καὶ συνετώτατον καὶ ὃν μάλιστα ᾔδειν τὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ θαρρήσονται ἐξοδόν. We learn his name from Zónaras.

<sup>86</sup> μηδέ τι πλέον παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν ἡβουλήθη ὅσον τὰ περὶ τὴν πορείαν καὶ εἰ εὐκυνάμην τῷ πλῶ ἐχρησάμεθα.

the throne, and after an interchange of civilities a gentleman-in-waiting called upon them officially to state their commission. Psellos was put forward as spokesman, and he gives an elaborate account of his diplomatic speech. He began with an encomium on the rank of Cæsar and the dignities attached to it, and amid interruptions from the audience went on to speak of the adoption of the Cæsar by the emperor. He finished with an appeal to Isaac to desist from his usurpation.

The speech was received with unfavourable clamours, which Komnénos was obliged to quiet by assuring the soldiers that the eloquence had produced no effect on him. He then dismissed the assembly and gave the envoys a private audience, at which he informed them that for the present he would be quite satisfied with the rank of Cæsar on condition that the emperor named no other successor before his death, and deprived none of his companions of honours he had bestowed on them; he also required a certain measure of power, so far as to have the bestowal of some subordinate civil and military appointments. He also asked them to obtain the removal of the minister 'of short stature,' who was hostile to him and unpopular—Leo Strabospondylês we may presume. These proposals were not entrusted to writing; the letter which was openly sent did not contain them. Having breakfasted with Isaac they hastened to the shore, crossed the Bosphoros, and reached the imperial palace early in the day. The assembly and the negotiations had taken place in the early morning. The emperor agreed to all the demands, and after the space of a day the ambassadors recrossed the straits. Komnénos appeared perfectly satisfied with the reply of the emperor, promised to disband his troops and proceed to Constantinople. Psellos, Leichudês, and Alôpos congratulated themselves that they had contributed a service to their sovereign by their prudent conduct of the embassy, and prepared to return on the morrow; Isaac was to move to Scutari the day after.

But before eventide they were surprised by the news that the emperor had been deposed by a conspiracy of senators. At first both the ambassadors and apparently the Cæsar looked upon the report as an invention, but messenger after messenger arrived confirming the tidings, and doubt could be no longer entertained. A more reliable and accurately informed person soon appeared, who explained that certain dissatisfied and seditious members of the senate had excited the inhabitants of the city, and, compelling the patriarch to act as their leader, inveighed against Michael and extolled Isaac; so far nothing more had happened. Before sunset, as Isaac and the ambassadors were conversing outside his tent, one arrived out of breath with the news that Michael had been forced to become a monk, and that the city was awaiting the arrival



of Isaac to take his place. Ere he had finished speaking another came with the same news.

‘How my fellow-ambassadors passed that night,’ says Psellos, ‘I know not, but I despaired of life, and expected that I should without delay be led to the sacrifice.’ But before daybreak the camp was in motion, and the philosopher’s terror was dispelled. The emperor called him to his side and addressed him as a counsellor, asking his advice as to the best mode of administration, and by what policy he might rival the greatest sovereigns. He treated Alôpos and Leichudês with the same kindness.

The whole city streamed forth to meet the new emperor, and he, turning to Psellos, said, ‘This extreme good fortune, philosopher, seems to me slippery, and I know not if the end will turn out favourable.’ The philosopher reassured the emperor with smooth and flattering words, and took the opportunity of begging him not to bear a grudge against himself. The eyes of Komnênos filled with tears, and he said, ‘I liked your tongue better the other day when it reviled me than now when it speaks smooth words.’ He then appointed Psellos president of the senate.

This important revolution, which transferred the crown from the Macedonian to the Komnênian dynasty, possesses considerable interest. It was accomplished by the coalition of a party within the city with the army without, and in this respect reminds us of the unsuccessful revolt of Vitalian in the reign of Anastasios. But our historians represent this coalition as undesigned; they represent Isaac Komnênos as completely surprised by the news of the part taken by the patriarch and certain members of the senate. Of course we cannot believe this; we must seek for something a little more mystic, *μυστικώτερον*—to use a phrase of Byzantine diplomacy. It is clear that Komnênos had a party in the city, which he and his friends, Katakálôn and the others, had time to organise before they departed to Asia after their rebuff by Michael. We are told expressly that they remained for some time in the capital. The cabinet ministers of Theodôra and Michael were very unpopular with others as well as with the soldiers, and Isaac would not fail to take advantage of this.

This faction consisted of members of the senate, and of party organisations or clubs, *hetaireiai*.<sup>87</sup> These clubs, which Zônaras has fortunately mentioned, had politically somewhat the same signification in the eleventh century as the *dêmoi* or factions of the hippodrome in the sixth; though doubtless they were much smaller and possessed far less influence than the blues and greens. Whether the patriarch had an understanding with this party beforehand, or

<sup>87</sup> Zônaras, iv. 190: *στάσιώδεις τινὲς τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς . . . οἷς καὶ οἱ τῶν ἑταιρειῶν συνέβησαν ἄρχοντες*. Attaleiatês merely mentions some of the persons ἐν τέλει as conspirators.

whether he was forced into the action he took on the day of the insurrection by the threats of the disaffected, was a question on which Byzantine historians differed. From the position of Kêrularios as opposed to and overlooked by the existing administration, and from his character as a man of strong will and great ambition, we might judge that he had throughout been a prime mover in the political revolution. The weight of the opinion of the historian Attaleiatês inclines in the same direction. And I think we cannot hesitate to suppose that Kêrularios and Komnēnos had a distinct understanding with one another. The remarkable honours and privileges which Isaac, when he ascended the throne, conferred upon the patriarch, can be best explained by supposing a secret compact; and the negotiation would have been all the more easy, as Constantine Dukas was an intimate friend of both the emperor and the patriarch.<sup>88</sup> In his *Epitaphios* on Kêrularios, Psellos gives an account of the revolution, and represents the patriarch as acting the part of a conciliator between two foes, and attributes to his interference the fact that the revolution was effected with little violence or bloodshed.<sup>89</sup>

It took place in the following manner. On the fatal day the conspirators repaired to the church of St. Sophia, and took oaths that bound them to carry out their purpose. The act was attended with commotion both within and without the sacred edifice, and the patriarch sent his nephews to discover the cause of the commotion. They were captured by the leaders of the insurrection and threatened with death if the patriarch did not consent to countenance the plot. 'Moved with compassion for his nephews, who were as his sons, and deeming it necessary to prevent civil war,' Kêrularios gave his consent. This was what apparently took place; but there can be little doubt that the whole affair was a preconcerted ruse.<sup>90</sup>

Some days before, Michael had induced all the senators and civil officers to sign a document, by which they engaged not to call Komnēnos *Basileus*, nor to pay him imperial honour. The con-

<sup>88</sup> Attaleiatês, *Hist.* p. 56: εἶτε δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἑξάρχος καὶ πατριάρχης ὁ Κηρουλάριος κεκοινῶκει τοῦτοις τῆς σκέψεως εἶτε καὶ μὴ, ἄδηλον καὶ προφανὲς οὐδέν. ὅμως δ' ἐκ προλήψεων καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συνενεχθέντων τὰ τῆς ὑπονοίας εἰς ἀληθείας ἀμυδρὰν προκεχωρήκασιν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ Κομνηνῷ τὰ πάντα συνδιαφέρων ἦν καὶ συμπράττων καὶ τῆς πρώτης βουλῆς γνωσκόμενος ὡς καὶ τῆς φίλλας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τῆς ἀγχιστείας ἐγγύτατος ὁ βέσταρχος Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Δοῦκας ἀδελφιδῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου σύνευνος καθιστάμενος καὶ πολλὰν εὐνοίαν δίδους καὶ λαμβάνων ἐκείθεν.

<sup>89</sup> P. 362 sqq.: δυνεῖν τότε γεγονότων ἀντιπάλων τμημάτων μέσος ἐκεῖνος ἐφειστήκει καὶ ἄτμητος. He is compared to a pilot in the storm. He took the side of Komnēnos because he saw Providence clearly leaning that way. P. 364-5: διαίτῃ ὅπως ἂν τῷ μὲν περιλειφθεῖν τὸ ζῆν ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἀναιμωτὶ μνηστευθεῖν τὸ κράτος. Michael VI is praised for his ready compliance with the inevitable.

<sup>90</sup> Zōnaras, iv. 190: λέγεται δὲ ταῦτα σκήψεις εἶναι καὶ προβουλευμάτων ἢ ἄκων δοκοῖν συνελθεῖν ὁ πατριάρχης τοῖς στασιάζουσι.

spirators professed that their object was to cancel this document, which they had signed under compulsion, and the patriarch undertook to obtain it from Michael. But in a short time they waxed bolder, and openly proclaimed Komnénos emperor. Kêrularios despatched one messenger to Isaac—one of those whose arrival in the camp we witnessed above—bidding him not tarry, and another to Michael bidding him leave the palace. Michael asked the clerical messengers of the patriarch, ‘What will ye give me instead of the kingdom?’ and they answered, ‘The kingdom of heaven.’<sup>91</sup> He then put off his imperial robes and retired to a religious retreat, which was under the special care of the patriarch, who received him with a kind and smiling face, and kissed him and bade him farewell. And Michael said, ‘God requite thee thy kiss worthily, patriarch.’<sup>92</sup>

§ 11. *The Patriarch Michael Kêrularios.*—The head of the church who took such a prominent part in the revolution of 1057, was a striking and important figure in the middle part of the eleventh century. We have already come across him on several occasions; but I passed over his name lightly, preferring to give a short connected account of his career. He attempted, as far as was possible under the completely different circumstances, to do for the patriarchate in the eastern church what his younger contemporary Hildebrand did for the pontificate in western Christendom.

He was a man remarkable for physical beauty as well as for learning and intellect. His first appearance on the scene of history is in the reign of Michael IV (1040); he was involved in a serious conspiracy against the emperor, and was banished along with Joannês Makrembolitês—the father of the empress Eudokia and spiritual brother of Psellos—and many others. In the notice of Kedrênos, Kêrularios is mentioned as a leader,<sup>93</sup> but Psellos in his *Epitaphios* gives a very curious account of the affair. A large number of noble and able men, disgusted with the government of the Paphlagonian family, formed the design of electing a new emperor. They determined to select the man on whom heaven had conferred in most abundance excellences of mind and body—the best man in the empire; each excluded from his thoughts all wish to reign. They unanimously voted for Michael Kêrularios; and the unanimity seemed equivalent to oracular certainty that he was the best man. They did not, however, inform the object of their choice, feeling that he would be reluctant to yield to their wishes; Kêrularios remained in ignorance that a large assembly of men of light and leading had chosen him to reign over them. But some of

<sup>91</sup> See Zônaras, iv. 191.

<sup>92</sup> Attaleiatês, p. 59: ἀνταποδώσει, ‘may he kiss in return.’ Although Psellos (*M. Kêrularios*, p. 365) describes the cordial reception given by the patriarch to the deposed monarch, I am sure that Michael’s words were ironical, and that he looked on the patriarchal salute as the kiss of Judas.

<sup>93</sup> Kedrênos, ii. 540.

the conspirators misdoubted the chance of success and turned informers; and Michael was punished even more severely than the others for the tribute which without his knowledge they had paid to his excellence.

He returned from exile in 1042, at the time of the accession of Monomachos, who showed him marked favour—although he had never met him before—and is reported to have exclaimed when he first saw him, ‘He is just the man for the patriarchate.’ In the meantime, as the patriarchal chair was not vacant, he made him his most confidential adviser;<sup>94</sup> but in less than a year (Feb. 1043) Alexios died, and Kêrularios was elected to the high and influential position of head of the eastern church.

There were two limits on the ecclesiastical power of the patriarch. One of these was theoretical rather than practical; in the organisation of universal Christendom he held a subordinate position.<sup>95</sup> It had been defined in the council of Constantinople (381) that the see of Constantinople was second in dignity to the see of Rome. The other limit was practical rather than theoretical: the patriarch was dependent on the emperor. The eastern emperors, like Constantine and like Justinian, continued to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, as was indeed inevitable.

From such subordination and dependence Michael Kêrularios made an attempt to deliver the Byzantine pontificate, and was to a certain extent not unsuccessful.

To break with Rome was not difficult; the eastern and western churches were practically severed. Into the details of the schism we need not enter here; we need merely indicate that a general account of it is given by Psellos in his *Epitaphios* on the patriarch. He notes the difference as to the ‘theology of the holy Trinity’ as the main point of the dissension, and tells us that others thought the matter of no consequence, while the patriarch deemed the heresy intolerable and exerted himself in the matter with unusually ardent activity.<sup>96</sup> On July 16, 1054, the envoys of the

<sup>94</sup> *Epitaph.* p. 324: καὶ συνοικίζει τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἑαυτῷ τοῖς ἀδύτοις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν περὶ ἐκείνον ποιεῖται, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>95</sup> The claim of the patriarch of Constantinople to the title of ‘ecumenical’ was first raised in the reign of Maurice, and was then resisted by Gregory I. The claim was of practical value in so far as it was connected with the subordination of the sees of Alexandria and Antioch to Constantinople; and thus Leo IX (in his sixth epistle) writes that it is intolerable *quod nova ambitione Alexandrinum et Antiochenum patriarchas antiquis suæ dignitatis privilegiis privare contendens contra fas et jus suo dominio subjugare conaretur*. An attempt was made in 1024 to bribe the pope into conceding the coveted title to the Byzantine bishop (see Lequien, *Or. Christ.* i. 89).

<sup>96</sup> τῷ δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας προμάχῳ καὶ προθύμῳ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἀγωνιστῇ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐλογίζετο· ὅθεν προῦκαμέ τε τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης πρὸς ἐκείνην πολλάκις ἠκριβολογήσατο καὶ θερμότερον ἢ περὶ τᾶλλα διηγωνίσσατο νοθεῶν ἐπιστέλλων παρακαλῶν γραφικαῖς χρώμενος ἀποδείξει . . . ὥς δ’ οὐκ ἔπειθε πάντα πράττων ἀλλ’ ἐγεγόνεισαν οἱ παιδαγωγούμενοι θρασύτεροι καὶ ἀναισχύντεροι τῇνικαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναρρήγνυται καὶ τῇ

pope deposited the act of excommunication on the altar of St. Sophia.

That Kêrularios made some attempts to render his office independent of imperial interference during the reign of Constantine IX, I should infer from the incidental remark of Psellos that he owed many grudges to Monomachos.<sup>97</sup> He had a high ideal of the archieratic office. The patriarch was bound, he thought (for though Psellos speaks with his own words, he speaks in the spirit of Kêrularios), to speak 'holy words' to secular powers, to resist *tyrannies*, to exalt the humble and pull down the self-willed, to superintend education:<sup>98</sup> it was the ideal of Ambrose and Chrysostom. The emperor did not support Michael in his quarrel with the pope and did not approve of his unconciliatory attitude; he compelled Nikêtas Pectoratos, a partisan of Michael, to burn the book he had written against the false doctrines of the Latins.

We have seen how the patriarch was opposed to the governments of Theodôra and Michael VI, and how he assisted in the elevation of Isaac I. It seems extremely probable that he arranged beforehand with Isaac, as conditions of lending his support, those privileges which Isaac granted when he was seated on the throne. We are told that he honoured the patriarch as a father, and he granted to the church a completer power in its own affairs than it had before possessed. The treasurer (σκευοφύλαξ) and the grand chancellor (ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος) used to be appointed directly by the emperor; Isaac transferred these appointments to the patriarch. He rendered the church wholly independent of the palace; the entire ecclesiastical administration was to depend henceforward on the head of the church.<sup>99</sup>

Kêrularios seems to have been popular with the clergy, and he tried to strengthen his position by the advancement of his nephews, who, as we saw, played a part in the revolt against Michael VI. Isaac conferred on them the highest honours and offices; and this is the nearest parallel to papal nepotism that we meet in Byzantine history—the advancement of the patriarch's nephews by the emperor.

But Kêrularios presumed too far, and he fell. He took upon himself, in accordance with his idea of the duties or privileges of

ἀναισχυντία τῆς ἀσεβείας τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀντιτίθησι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν. For the schism compare Leo Ostiensis, *Chronicle of Monte Casino*, book ii. chap. 85. See Hefele, *Concilien-geschichte*, iv. 725 f., and the article on Cärlarios by Gass in the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie*, edited by Herzog and Plitt (now by Hauck). Kêrularios threw down the gauntlet in a letter to the bishop of Trani.

<sup>97</sup> *Epitaph*. p. 357: καίτοι πολλά μνησικακεῖν ἔχων τῷ ἀπελθόντι.

<sup>98</sup> *Ib.* p. 354: τὸ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν παιδαγωγίας τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀπευθυνομένοις ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πρὸς τε δυναστείας παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ τυραννίας (usurpations) ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ταπεινότερους ὑψοῦν καθαρεῖν δὲ τοὺς αὐθαδεστέρους καὶ θρασυτέρους.

<sup>99</sup> See Attaleiatês, p. 60; Skylitzês, pp. 641–2; Zônaras, iv. 352.

the patriarchal office, to admonish the emperor like a father or censure him like a master, if he did or designed to do anything of which he did not approve. The ears of an emperor are accustomed to praise, not to rebuke; and Isaac, however friendly his feelings to the patriarch were, could not long submit to the schooling of an ecclesiastic. Moreover, Kêrularios in mere external trivialities gave proof of a dangerously autocratic spirit; he wore red boots like the emperor's, asserting that it was an ancient pontifical privilege. Things came to a crisis when on one occasion the emperor exhibited his impatience and the indignant patriarch cried 'It was I who gave you the empire, I too can take it from you.'<sup>100</sup> At the feast of the archangels it was necessary for the patriarch to officiate outside the city, and the emperor seized the opportunity and caused Kêrularios to be arrested, as he feared that his arrest in the city might cause a disturbance. The Varangian soldiers who were employed for the purpose transported him to Prokonnêsos, where he died in a few days and relieved the emperor from further trouble.

JOHN B. BURY.

<sup>100</sup> It is not easy to see the point of τὸ δημῶδες τοῦτο καὶ καθημαζωμένον, which Skylitzês (p. 643) puts into the mouth of the patriarch: ἐὼ σε ἔκτισα φούρνῃ· ἐὼ ἵνα σε χαλάσω.





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# An inaugural lecture

John Bagnell Bury



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AN  
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AN  
INAUGURAL LECTURE

*DELIVERED IN THE DIVINITY SCHOOL  
CAMBRIDGE  
ON JANUARY 26, 1903*

BY

J. B. BURY, M.A.  
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY

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## THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY.

IN saying that I come before you to-day with no little trepidation, I am not uttering a mere conventional profession of diffidence. There are very real reasons for misgiving. My predecessor told you how formidable he found this chair, illuminated as it is by the lustre of the distinguished historian whom he succeeded. But if it was formidable then, how much more formidable is it to-day! The terrors which it possessed for Lord Acton have been enhanced for his successor.

In a home of historical studies where so much thought is spent on their advancement, one can hardly hope to say any new thing touching those general aspects of history which most naturally invite attention in an inaugural

lecture. It may be appropriate and useful now and again to pay a sort of solemn tribute to the dignity and authority of a great discipline or science, by reciting some of her claims and her laws, or by reviewing the measures of her dominion; and on this occasion, in this place, it might perhaps seem to be enough to honour the science of History in this formal way, sprinkling, as it were, with dutiful hands some grains of incense on her altar.

Yet even such a tribute might possess more than a formal significance, if we remember how recently it is—within three generations, three short generations—that history began to forsake her old irresponsible ways and prepared to enter into her kingdom. In the story of the nineteenth century, which has witnessed such far-reaching changes in the geography of thought and in the apparatus of research, no small nor isolated place belongs to the transformation and expansion of history. That transformation, however, is not yet complete. Its principle is

not yet universally or unreservedly acknowledged. It is rejected in many places, or ignored, or unrealised. Old envelopes still hang tenaciously round the renovated figure, and students of history are confused, embarrassed, and diverted by her old traditions and associations. It has not yet become superfluous to insist that history is a science, no less and no more; and some who admit it theoretically hesitate to enforce the consequences which it involves. It is therefore, I think, almost incumbent on a professor to define, at the very outset, his attitude to the transformation of the idea of history which is being gradually accomplished; and an inaugural address offers an opportunity which, if he feels strongly the importance of the question, he will not care to lose.

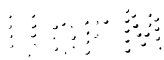
And moreover I venture to think that it may be useful and stimulating for those who are beginning historical studies to realise vividly and clearly that the transformation which those



studies are undergoing is itself a great event in the history of the world,—that we are ourselves in the very middle of it, that we are witnessing and may share in the accomplishment of a change which will have a vast influence on future cycles of the world. I wish that I had been enabled to realise this when I first began to study history. I think it is important for all historical students alike—not only for those who may be drawn to make history the special work of their lives, but also for those who study it as part of a liberal education—to be fully alive and awake to the revolution which is slowly and silently progressing. It seems especially desirable that those who are sensible of the importance of the change and sympathize with it should declare and emphasize it; just because it is less patent to the vision and is more perplexed by ancient theories and traditions, than those kindred revolutions which have been effected simultaneously in other branches of knowledge.

History has really been enthroned and ensphered among the sciences ; but the particular nature of her influence, her time-honoured association with literature, and other circumstances, have acted as a sort of vague cloud, half concealing from men's eyes her new position in the heavens.

The proposition that before the beginning of the last century the study of history was not scientific may be sustained in spite of a few exceptions. The works of permanent value, such as those of Muratori, Ducange, Tillemont, were achieved by dint of most laborious and conscientious industry, which commands our highest admiration and warmest gratitude: but it must be admitted that their criticism was sporadic and capricious. It was the criticism of sheer learning. A few stand on a higher level in so far as they were really alive to the need of bringing reason and critical doubt to bear on the material, but the systematized method which distinguishes a science was



beyond the vision of all, except a few like Mabillon. Erudition has now been supplemented by scientific method, and we owe the change to Germany. Among those who brought it about, the names of Niebuhr and Ranke are pre-eminent. But there is another name which historical students should be slow to forget, the name of one who, though not a historian but a philologist, nevertheless gave a powerful stimulus to the introduction of critical methods which are now universally applied. Six years before the eighteenth century closed a modest book appeared at Halle, of which it is perhaps hardly a grave exaggeration to say that it is one of half-a-dozen which in the last three hundred years have exercised most effective influence upon thought. The work I mean is Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*. It launched upon the world a new engine—*donum exitiale Minervae*—which was soon to menace the walls of many a secure citadel. It gave historians the idea of a systematic and minute

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method of analysing their sources, which soon developed into the microscopic criticism, now recognised as indispensable.

All truths (to modify a saying of Plato) require the most exact methods; and closely connected with the introduction of a new method was the elevation of the standard of truth. The idea of a scrupulously exact conformity to facts was fixed, refined, and canonized; and the critical method was one of the means to secure it. There was indeed no historian since the beginning of things who did not profess that his sole aim was to present to his readers untainted and unpainted truth. But the axiom was loosely understood and interpreted, and the notion of truth was elastic. It might be difficult to assign to Puritanism and Rationalism and other causes their respective parts in crystallizing that strict discrimination of the true and the false which is now so familiar to us that we can hardly understand insensibility to the distinction. It would be a most fruitful

investigation to trace from the earliest ages the history of public opinion in regard to the meaning of falsehood and the obligation of veracity. About twenty years ago a German made a contribution to the subject by examining the evidence for the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and he showed how different were the views which men held then as to truth-telling and lying from those which are held to-day. Moreover, so long as history was regarded as an art, the sanctions of truth and accuracy could not be severe. The historians of ancient Rome display what historiography can become when it is associated with rhetoric. Though we may point to individual writers who had a high ideal of accuracy at various ages, it was not till the scientific period began that laxity in representing facts came to be branded as criminal. Nowhere perhaps can we see the new spirit so self-conscious as in some of the letters of Niebuhr.

But a stricter standard of truth and new methods for the purpose of ascertaining truth

were not enough to detach history from her old moorings. A new transfiguring conception of her scope and limits was needed, if she was to become an independent science. Such a conception was waiting to intervene, but I may lead up to it by calling to your recollection how history was affected by the political changes of Europe.

It was a strange and fortunate coincidence that the scientific movement in Germany should have begun simultaneously with another movement which gave a strong impetus to historical studies throughout Europe and enlisted men's emotions in their favour. The saying that the name of hope is remembrance was vividly illustrated, on a vast scale, by the spirit of resurgent nationality which you know has governed, as one of the most puissant forces, the political course of the last century, and is still unexhausted. When the peoples, inspired by the national idea, were stirred to mould their destinies anew, and, looking back with longing

to the more distant past, based upon it their claims for independence or for unity, history was one of the most effective weapons in their armouries ; and consequently a powerful motive was supplied for historical investigation. The inevitable result was the production of some crude uncritical histories, written with national prejudice and political purpose, redeemed by the genuine pulse of national aspiration. But in Germany the two movements met. Scientific method controlled, while the national spirit quickened, the work of historical research. One of the grave dangers was the temptation to fix the eyes exclusively on the inspiring and golden periods of the past, and it is significant to find Dahlmann, as early as 1812, warning against such a tendency, and laying down that the statesman who studies national history should study the whole story of his forefathers, the whole developement of his people, and not merely chosen parts.

But the point which concerns us now is that

the national movements of Europe not only raised history into prominence and gave a great impulse to its study, but also partially disclosed where the true practical importance of history lies. When men sought the key of their national development not in the immediate but in the remoter past, they had implicitly recognised in some measure the principles of unity and continuity. That recognition was a step towards the higher, more comprehensive, and scientific estimation of history's practical significance, which is only now beginning to be understood.

Just let me remind you what used to be thought in old days as to the utility of history. The two greatest of the ancient historians, Thucydides and Polybius, held that it might be a guide for conduct, as containing examples and warnings for statesmen; and it was generally regarded in Greece and at Rome as a storehouse of concrete instances to illustrate political and ethical maxims. Cicero called history in this



sense *magistra vitae*, and Dionysius designated it 'Philosophy by examples.' And this view, which ascribed to it at best the function of teaching statesmen by analogy, at worst the duty of moral edification, prevailed generally till the last century. Of course it contained a truth which we should now express in a different form by saying that history supplies the material for political and social science. This is a very important function; but, if it were the only function, if the practical import of history lay merely in furnishing examples of causes and effects, then history, in respect of practical utility, would be no more than the handmaid of social science.

And here I may interpolate a parenthesis, which even at this hour may not be quite superfluous. I may remind you that history is not a branch of literature. The facts of history, like the facts of geology or astronomy, can supply material for literary art; for manifest

reasons they lend themselves to artistic representation far more readily than those of the natural sciences; but to clothe the story of a human society in a literary dress is no more the part of a historian as a historian, than it is the part of an astronomer as an astronomer to present in an artistic shape the story of the stars. Take, for example, the greatest living historian. The reputation of Mommsen as a man of letters depends on his Roman History; but his greatness as a historian is to be sought far less in that dazzling work than in the *Corpus* and the *Staatsrecht* and the *Chronicles*.

This, by way of parenthesis; and now to resume. A right notion of the bearing of history on affairs, both for the statesman and for the citizen, could not be formed or formulated until men had grasped the idea of human developement. This is the great transforming conception, which enables history to define her scope. The idea was first started by Leibnitz, but, though it had some exponents

in the interval, it did not rise to be a governing force in human thought till the nineteenth century, when it appears as the true solvent of the anti-historical doctrines which French thinkers and the French Revolution had arrayed against the compulsion of the past. At the same time, it has brought history into line with other sciences, and, potentially at least, has delivered her from the political and ethical encumbrances which continued to impede her after the introduction of scientific methods. For notwithstanding those new engines of research, she remained much less, and much more, than a science in Germany, as is illustrated by the very existence of all those bewildering currents and cross-currents, tendencies and counter-tendencies, those various schools of doctrine, in which Lord Acton was so deeply skilled. The famous saying of Ranke—"Ich will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist"—was widely applauded, but it was little accepted in the sense of a warning

against transgressing the province of facts ; it is a text which must still be preached, and when it has been fully taken to heart, though there be many schools of political philosophy, there will no longer be divers schools of history.

The world is not yet alive to the full importance of the transformation of history (as part of a wider transformation) which is being brought about by the doctrine of development. It is always difficult for those who are in immediate proximity to realise the decisive steps in intellectual or spiritual progress when those steps are slow and gradual ; but we need not hesitate to say that the last century is not only as important an era as the fifth century B.C. in the annals of historical study, but marks, like it, a stage in the growth of man's self-consciousness. There is no passage, perhaps, in the works of the Greek tragedians so instructive for the historical student as that song in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, in which we seem

to surprise the first amazed meditation of man when it was borne in upon him by a sudden startling illumination, how strange it is that he should be what he is and should have wrought all that he has wrought,—should have wrought out, among other things, the city-state. He had suddenly, as it were, waked up to realise that he himself was the wonder of the world. *Οὐδὲν δεινότερον πέλει*. That intense expression of a new detached wondering interest in man, as an object of curiosity, gives us the clue to the inspiration of Herodotus and the birth of history. More than two thousand years later human self-consciousness has taken another step, and the “sons of flesh” have grasped the notion of their upward developement through immense cycles of time. This idea has re-created history. Girded with new strength she has definitely come out from among her old associates, moral philosophy and rhetoric; she has come out into a place of liberty; and has begun to enter into closer relations with

the sciences which deal objectively with the facts of the universe.

The older view, which we may call the politico-ethical theory, naturally led to eclecticism. Certain periods and episodes, which seemed especially rich in moral and political lessons, were picked out as pre-eminently and exclusively important, and everything else was regarded as more or less the province of antiquarianism. This eclectic and exclusive view is not extinct, and can appeal to recent authority. It is remarkable that one of the most eminent English historians of the latter half of the last century, whose own scientific work was a model for all students, should have measured out the domain of history with the compasses of political or ethical wisdom, and should have protested as lately as 1877 against the principle of unity and continuity. That inconsistency is an illustration of the tenacity with which men cling to predilections that are incongruous with the

whole meaning of their own lifework. But it is another great Oxford historian to whom perhaps more than to any other teacher we owe it that the Unity of History is now a commonplace in Britain. It must indeed be carried beyond the limits within which he enforced it, but to have affirmed and illustrated that principle was not the least useful of Mr Freeman's valuable services to the story of Europe. In no field, I may add, have the recognition of continuity and the repudiation of eclecticism been more notable or more fruitful than in a field in which I happen to be specially interested, the history of the Eastern Roman empire, the foster-mother of Russia.

The principle of continuity and the higher principle of developement lead to the practical consequence that it is of vital importance for citizens to have a true knowledge of the past and to see it in a dry light, in order that their influence on the present and future may be exerted in right directions. For, as a matter of

fact, the attitude of men to the past has at all times been a factor in forming their political opinions and determining the course of events. It would be an instructive task to isolate this influence and trace it from its most rudimentary form in primitive times, when the actions of tribes were stimulated by historical memories, through later ages in which policies were dictated or confirmed by historical judgments and conceptions. But the clear realisation of the fact that our conception of the past is itself a distinct factor in guiding and moulding our evolution, and must become a factor of greater and increasing potency, marks a new stage in the growth of the human mind. And it supplies us with the true theory of the practical importance of history.

It seems inevitable that, as this truth is more fully and widely though slowly realised, the place which history occupies in national education will grow larger and larger. It is therefore of supreme moment that the history which is



taught should be true ; and that can be attained only through the discovery, collection, classification, and interpretation of facts,—through scientific research. The furtherance of research, which is the highest duty of Universities, requires ways and means. Public money is spent on the printing and calendaring of our own national records ; but we ought not to be satisfied with that. Every little people in Europe devotes sums it can far less well afford to the investigation of its particular history. We want a much larger recognition of the necessity of historical research ; a recognition that it is a matter of public concern to promote the scientific study of any branch of history that any student is anxious to pursue. Some statesmen would acknowledge this ; but in a democratic state they are hampered by the views of unenlightened taxpayers. The wealthy private benefactors who have come forward to help Universities, especially in America, are deplorably short-sighted ; they think too much of direct results

and immediate returns; they are unable to realise that research and the accumulated work of specialists may move the world. In the meantime, the Universities themselves have much to do; they have to recognise more fully and clearly and practically and preach more loudly and assiduously that the advancement of research in history, as in other sciences, is not a luxury, subsidiary though desirable, but is a pressing need, a matter of inestimable concern to the nation and the world.

It must also be remembered that a science cannot safely be controlled or guided by a subjective interest. This brings me to the question of perspective in ecumenical history. From the subjective point of view, for our own contemporary needs, it may be held that certain centuries of human developement are of a unique and predominant importance, and possess, for purposes of present utility, a direct value which cannot be claimed for remoter ages.

But we should not forget that this point of view if legitimate and necessary, in one sense, is subjective, and unscientific. It involves a false perspective. The reason is not merely the brevity of the modern age in comparison with the antecedent history of man ; it is a larger consideration than that.

In his inaugural lecture at Oxford sixty years ago<sup>1</sup>, Arnold propounded as his conviction the view that what we call the modern age coincides with "the last step" in the story of man. "It appears," he said, "to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it." He based this view on the ground that one race had followed another in the torch-bearing progress of civilisation, and that after the Teuton and the Slav, who are already on the scene, there exists on earth no new race fitted to come forward and succeed to the inheritance of the ages. This argument rests on unproven assumptions as to the vital powers

<sup>1</sup> 1841.

and capacities of races, and as to the importance of the ethnical factor in man's development. The truth is that at all times men have found a difficulty in picturing how the world could march onward ages and ages after their own extinction. And this difficulty has prejudiced their views. We may guess that if it had been put to a king of Egypt or Babylonia 6000 years ago, he would have said that his own age represented the fulness of days. The data to which Arnold appealed are insufficient even to establish a presumption. The only data which deserve to be considered are the data furnished by cosmic science. And science tells us that—apart from the incalculable chances of catastrophes—man has still myriads and myriads of years to live on this planet under physical conditions which need not hinder his development or impair his energies. That is a period of which his whole recorded history of six or seven thousand years is a small fraction.

The dark imminence of this unknown future

in front of us, like a vague wall of mist, every instant receding, with all its indiscernible contents of world-wide change, soundless revolutions, silent reformations, undreamed ideas, new religions, must not be neglected, if we would grasp the unity of history in its highest sense. For though we are unable to divine what things indefinite time may evolve, though we cannot look forward with the eyes of

“the prophetic soul

Of the wide world brooding on things to come,”

yet the unapparent future has a claim to make itself felt as an idea controlling our perspective. It commands us not to regard the series of what *we* call ancient and medieval history as leading up to the modern age and the twentieth century; it bids us consider the whole sequence up to the present moment as probably no more than the beginning of a social and psychical developement, whereof the end is withdrawn from our view by countless millenniums to come. All the epochs of the past are only a few of the front carriages,

and probably the least wonderful, in the van of an interminable procession.

This, I submit, is a controlling idea for determining objectively our historical perspective. We must see our petty periods *sub specie perennitatis*. Under this aspect the modern age falls into line with its predecessors and loses its obtrusive prominence. Do not say that this view sets us on too dizzy a height. On the contrary, it is a supreme confession of the limitations of our knowledge. It is simply a limiting and controlling conception; but it makes all the difference in the adjustment of our mental balance for the appreciation of values,—like the symbol of an unknown quantity in the denominator of a fraction. It teaches us that history ceases to be scientific, and passes from the objective to the subjective point of view, if she does not distribute her attention, so far as the sources allow, to all periods of history. It cannot perhaps be too often reiterated that a University, in the exercise and administration

of learning, has always to consider that more comprehensive and general utility which consists in the training of men to contemplate life and the world from the highest, that is the scientifically truest point of view, in the justest perspective that can be attained. If one were asked to define in a word the end of higher education, I do not know whether one could find a much better definition than this: the training of the mind to look at experience objectively, without immediate relation to one's own time and place. And so, if we recognise the relative importance of the modern period for our own contemporary needs, we must hold that the best preparation for interpreting it truly, for investigating its movements, for deducing its practical lessons, is to be brought up in a school where its place is estimated in scales in which the weight of contemporary interest is not thrown.

Beyond its value as a limiting controlling

conception, the idea of the future developement of man has also a positive importance. It furnishes in fact the justification of much of the laborious historical work that has been done and is being done to-day. The gathering of materials bearing upon minute local events, the collation of MSS. and the registry of their small variations, the patient drudgery in archives of states and municipalities, all the microscopic research that is carried on by armies of toiling students—it may seem like the bearing of mortar and bricks to the site of a building which has hardly been begun, of whose plan the labourers know but little. This work, the hewing of wood and the drawing of water, has to be done in faith—in the faith that a complete assemblage of the smallest facts of human history will tell in the end. The labour is performed for posterity—for remote posterity; and when, with intelligible scepticism, someone asks the use of the accumulation of statistics, the publication of trivial records, the labour expended on



minute criticism, the true answer is: "That is not so much our business as the business of future generations. We are heaping up material and arranging it, according to the best methods we know; if we draw what conclusions we can for the satisfaction of our own generation, we never forget that our work is to be used by future ages. It is intended for those who follow us rather than for ourselves, and much less for our grandchildren than for generations very remote." For a long time to come one of the chief services that research can perform is to help to build, firm and solid, some of the countless stairs by which men of distant ages may mount to a height unattainable by us and have a vision of history which we cannot win, standing on our lower slope.

But if we have to regard the historical labours of man, for many a century to come, as the ministrations of a novitiate, it does not follow that we should confine ourselves to the collection and classification of materials, the

technical criticism of them, and the examination of special problems ; it does not follow that the constructive works of history which each age produces and will continue to produce according to its lights may not have a permanent value. It may be said that like the serpents of the Egyptian enchanter they are perpetually swallowed up by those of the more potent magicians of the next generation ; but—apart from the fact that they contribute themselves to the power of the enchantment which overcomes them—it is also true that though they may lose their relative value, they abide as milestones of human progress ; they belong to the documents which mirror the form and feature of their age, and may be part of the most valuable material at the disposal of posterity. If we possessed all the sources which Tacitus used for his sketch of the early imperial period, his *Annals* would lose its value in one sense, but it would remain to the furthest verge of time a monument of the highest significance,

in its treatment, its method and its outlook, for the history of the age in which he lived. When the ultimate history of Germany in the nineteenth century comes to be written, it will differ widely from Treitschke's work, but that brilliant book can never cease to be a characteristic document of its epoch.

The remarks which I have ventured to offer are simply deductions from the great principle of developement in time, which has given a deep and intense meaning to the famous aphorism of Hippocrates, that Science is long, a maxim so cold and so inspiring. The humblest student of history may feel assured that he is not working only for his own time ; he may feel that he has an interest to consult and a cause to advance beyond the interest and cause of his own age. And this does not apply only to those who are engaged in research. It applies also to those who are studying history without any intention of adding to knowledge. Every individual who is deeply impressed with the

fact that man's grasp of his past developement helps to determine his future developement, and who studies history as a science not as a branch of literature, will contribute to form a national conscience that true history is of supreme importance, that the only way to true history lies through scientific research, and that in promoting and prosecuting such research we are not indulging in a luxury but doing a thoroughly practical work and performing a great duty to posterity.

One of the features of the renovation of the study of history has been the growth of a larger view of its dominion. Hitherto I have been dwelling upon its longitudinal aspect as a sequence in time, but a word may be said about its latitude. The exclusive idea of political history, *Staatengeschichte*, to which Ranke held so firmly, has been gradually yielding to a more comprehensive definition which embraces as its material all records, whatever their nature may

be, of the material and spiritual developement, of the culture and the works, of man in society, from the stone age onwards. It may be said that the wider view descends from Herodotus, the narrower from Thucydides. The growth of the larger conception was favoured by the national movements which vindicated the idea of the people as distinct from the idea of the state; but its final victory is assured by the application of the principle of developement and the "historical method" to all the manifestations of human activity—social institutions, law, trade, the industrial and the fine arts, religion, philosophy, folklore, literature. Thus history has acquired a much ampler and more comprehensive meaning, along with a deeper insight into the constant interaction and reciprocity among all the various manifestations of human brain-power and human emotion. Of course in actual practice labour is divided; political history and the histories of the various parts of civilisation can and must be separately treated; but it makes a

vital difference that we should be alive to the interconnexion, that no department should be isolated, that we should maintain an intimate association among the historical sciences, that we should frame an ideal—an ideal not the less useful because it is impracticable—of a true history of a nation or a true history of the world in which every form of social life and every manifestation of intellectual developement should be set forth in its relation to the rest, in its significance for growth or decline.

Cambridge has officially recognised this wider view of history by the name and constitution of the body which administers historical studies—the “Board of Historical and Archaeological Studies.” If that branch of historical research which we call archaeology bears a distinct name and occupies its distinct place, it is simply because the investigation of the historical records with which it deals requires a special training of faculties of observation not called into play in the study of written documents. But it must

not be forgotten that the special historian whom we call an archaeologist needs a general training in history and a grasp of historical perspective as much as any other historical specialist. It must be borne in mind that this, as well as his special scientific training, is needed to differentiate the archaeologist from the antiquarian of the prescientific Oldbuck type, who in the first place has no wide outlook on history, and secondly cannot distinguish between legitimate profitable hypotheses and guesses which are quite from the purpose. Such antiquarians have not yet disappeared. It is significant that two brilliant historians, to both of whom the study of history in this country is deeply indebted, built perilous superstructures in regard to the English Conquest upon speculations which were only superior specimens of the prescientific type. It is earnestly to be wished that the history schools of the Universities may turn out a new kind of critical antiquarians in Britain who instead of molesting

their local monuments with batteries of irrelevant erudition and fanciful speculation, with volleys of crude etymologies, will help to further our knowledge of British history, coming with a suitable equipment to the arduous, important and attractive task of fixing, grouping, and interpreting the endless fragments of historical wreckage which lie scattered in these islands. I venture to insist with some emphasis on this, because there are few fields where more work is to be done or where labourers are more needed than the Celtic civilisations of Western Europe. In tracing from its origins the course of western history in the Middle Ages, we are pulled up on the threshold by the uncertainties and obscurities which brood over the Celtic world. And for the purpose of prosecuting that most difficult of all inquiries, the ethnical problem, the part played by race in the developement of peoples and the effects of race blendings, it must be remembered that the Celtic world commands one of the chief portals of ingress



into that mysterious prae-Aryan foreworld, from which it may well be that we modern Europeans have inherited far more than we dream. For pursuing these studies it is manifest that scholars in the British islands are in a particularly favourable position.

Most beginners set to work at the study which attracts them, and follow the lines that have been constructed for them, without any clear apprehension or conviction of the greater issues involved. That apprehension only comes to them afterwards, if indeed it ever comes. It has seemed to me that it might not be amiss if historical students, instead of merely taking the justification of their subject for granted, were brought at the outset to consider its significance and position from the highest point of view,—if they were stimulated to apprehend vividly that the study of history and the method of studying it are facts of ecumenical importance. In attempting to illustrate this—very inadequately in

the small compass of an introductory address,—  
I have sought to indicate the close interconnexion  
between the elevation of history to the position  
of a science and the recognition of the true  
nature of its practical significance as being itself  
a factor in evolution.

I may conclude by repeating that, just as he  
will have the best prospect of being a successful  
investigator of any group of nature's secrets who  
has had his mental attitude determined by a  
large grasp of cosmic problems, even so the  
historical student should learn to realise the  
human story *sub specie perennitatis*; and that, if,  
year by year, history is to become a more and  
more powerful force for stripping the bandages  
of error from the eyes of men, for shaping public  
opinion and advancing the cause of intellectual  
and political liberty, she will best prepare her  
disciples for the performance of that task, not  
by considering the immediate utility of next  
week or next year or next century, not by  
accommodating her ideal or limiting her range,

but by remembering always that, though she may supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, she is herself simply a science, no less and no more.

MAY 19 1915

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